

MILTON'S
PARADISE LOST.

BOOKS XI AND XII

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MILTON'S
PARADISE LOST

BOOKS XI AND XII

*WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, GLOSSARY
AND INDEX*

BY

A WILSON VERITY, M.A.

SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

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NOTE

THE text of the books of *Paradise Lost* in this volume is that of the first edition (1667), with the slight corrections and additions of the second (1674)

Most of the Biblical references given in the *Notes* have been pointed out by previous editors. I make this general acknowledgment of my obligations here, as it would have been inconvenient to crowd the *Notes* with the names of the various editors who have detected the allusions. Indeed, in many cases it would be impossible to say to which of the editors the credit belongs. The most of the allusions are obvious enough.

The edition of Milton's prose-works referred to is that published in 'Bohn's Standard Library'

A W V

BOURNEMOUTH,
March 26, 1892

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	ix—lxviii
(LIFE OF MILTON	
INTRODUCTORY NOTICE OF THE POEM)	
PARADISE LOST BOOK XI	1—30
BOOK XII	31—52
NOTES	53—96
GLOSSARY	97—104
INDEX	105—106

INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF MILTON

MILTON'S life falls into three clearly defined divisions. The first period ends with the poet's return from Italy in 1639, the second at the Restoration in 1660, when release from the fetters of politics enabled him to remind the world that he was a great poet, if not a great controversialist, the third is brought to a close with his death in 1674. *Paradise Lost* belongs to the last of these periods, but we propose to summarise briefly the main events of all three. *The three periods in Milton's life*

John Milton was born on December 9, 1608, in London. He came, in his own words, *ex genere honesto*. *Born 1608, the poet's father* A family of Miltons had been settled in Oxfordshire since the reign of Elizabeth. The poet's father had been educated at an Oxford school, possibly as a chorister in one of the College choir-schools, and imbibing Anglican sympathies had conformed to the Established Church. For this he was disinherited by his father. He settled in London, following the profession of scrivener. A scrivener combined the occupations of lawyer and law-stationer. It appears to have been a lucrative calling, certainly John Milton (the poet was named after the father) attained to easy circumstances. He married about 1600, and had six children, of whom several died young. The third child was the poet.

The elder Milton was evidently a man of considerable culture, in particular an accomplished musician, and a com-

INTRODUCTION

For certain the madrigals were deemed worthy of being printed side by side with those of Byrd, Orlando Gibbons and other leading musicians of the time. To him, no doubt, the poet owed the love of music of which we see frequent indications in the poems.¹ Realising too, that in his son lay the promise and possibility of future greatness, John Milton took the utmost pains to have the boy adequately educated, and the *lost Idyl Pastor* shows that the ties of affection between father

left Cambridge His experience of University life had not been wholly fortunate. He was, and felt himself to be, out of sympathy with his surroundings, and whenever in after-years he spoke of Cambridge¹ it was with something of the grave *impictas* of Gibbon who, unsoftened even by memories of Magdalen, complained that the fourteen months spent at Oxford were the least profitable part of his life Milton, in fact, anticipates the laments that we find in the correspondence of Gray, addressed sometimes to Richard West and reverberated from the banks of the Isis It may, however, be fairly assumed that, whether consciously or not, Milton owed a good deal to his University, and it must not be forgotten that the uncomplimentary and oft-quoted allusions to Cambridge date for the most part from the unhappy period when Milton the politician and polemical dogmatist had effectually divorced himself at once from Milton the scholar and Milton the poet A poet he had proved himself before leaving the University The short but exquisite ode *At a Solemn Music*, and the *Nativity Hymn* (1629), were already written

¹ That Milton's feeling towards the authorities of his own college was not entirely unfriendly would appear from the following sentences written in 1642 He takes, he says, the opportunity to "acknowledge publicly, with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary respect which I found, above many of my equals, at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the Fellows of that college wherein I spent some years, who, at my parting after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay, as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me."—*Apology for Smectymnus*, P W III 311 Perhaps it would have been better for Milton had he been sent to Emmanuel College, long a stronghold of Puritanism Dr John Preston, the Master of the college at that time, was a noted leader of the Puritan party, see his *Life* by Thomas Ball, printed in 1885 by Mr E W Harcourt from the MS at Nuneham Court.

Milton's father had settled¹ at Horton in Buckinghamshire. Thither the son retired in July, 1632. He had
The years (1632-1637) *spent at Horton* gone to Cambridge with the intention of qualifying for some profession perhaps the Church.² This purpose was soon given up, and when Milton returned to his father's house he seems to have made up his mind that there was no profession which he cared to enter. He would choose the better part of studying and preparing himself, by rigorous self-discipline and application, for the far off divine event to which his whole life moved.

It was Milton's constant resolve to achieve something that should vindicate the ways of God to men, something great³ that should justify his own possession of unique powers—powers of which, with no trace of egotism, he proclaims himself proudly conscious. The feeling finds repeated expression in his prose, it is the guiding star that shines clear and steadfast even through the mists of politics.

¹ As tenant of the Earl of Bridgewater according to one account, but probably the tradition arose from Milton's subsequent connection with the Bridgewater family.

² Cf. Milton's own words, "The Church, to whose service by the intention of my parents and friends I was destined of a child, and in my own resolutions." What kept him from taking orders was not, at first, any difference of belief, but solely his objection to Church discipline and government. "Coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded in the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave. (I) thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking bought and begun with servitude and forswearing"—*Reason of Church Government*, P. IV ll. 48. Milton disliked in particular the episcopal system, and spoke of himself as "Church-outed by the prelates."

³ Cf. the second sonnet, "How soon hath Time." Ten years later (1641) Milton speaks of the "inward prompting which grows daily upon me, that by labour and intent study, which I take to be my portion in this life, joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to after times, as they should not willingly let it die." *Reason of Church Government*, P. III ll. 477-478.

True, Milton gave more than one earnest of his future fame. The dates of the early pieces—*L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Arcades*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*—are not all certain, but probably each was composed at Horton before 1638. We have spoken of them elsewhere. Here we may note that four of them have great autobiographic value as an indirect commentary, written from Milton's coign of seclusion, upon the moral crisis through which English life and thought were passing, the clash between the careless hedonism of the Cavalier world and the deepening austerity of Puritanism. In *L'Allegro* the poet holds the balance almost equal between the two opposing tendencies. In *Il Penseroso* it becomes clear to which side his sympathies are leaning. *Comus* is a covert prophecy of the downfall of the Court-party, while *Lycidas* openly "foretells the ruine" of the Established Church. The latter poem is the final utterance of Milton's lyric genius. Here he reaches, in Mr Mark Pattison's words, the high-water mark of English verse, and then—the pity of it—he resigns that place among the *lyric vates* of which the Roman singer was ambitious, and for nearly twenty years suffers his lyre to hang mute and rusty in the temple of the Muses.

The composition of *Lycidas* may be assigned to the year 1637. In the spring of the next year Milton started for Italy. He had long made himself a master of Italian, and it was natural that he should seek inspiration in the land where many English poets, from Chaucer to Shelley, have found it. Milton remained abroad some fifteen months. Originally he had intended to include Sicily and Greece in his travels, but news of the troubles in England hastened his return. He was brought face to face with the question whether or not he should bear his part in the coming struggle, whether without self-reproach he could lead any longer this life of learning and indifference to the public weal. He decided as we might have expected that he would decide, though some good critics see cause to regret the decision. Milton puts his

Milton's lyric
verse its rela-
tion to contem-
porary life

Travels in
Italy close of
the first period
in his life

Cause of his
return to Eng-
land.

position very clearly. "I considered it, he says "dishonourable to be enjoying myself at my ease in foreign lands, while my countrymen were striking a blow for freedom." And again "Perceiving that the true way to liberty followed on from these beginnings, inasmuch also as I had so prepared myself from my youth that, above all things I could not be ignorant what is of Divine and what of human right, I resolved, though I was then meditating certain other matters, to transfer into this struggle all my penias and all the strength of my industry."

The summer of 1639 (July) found Milton back in England. Immediately after his return he wrote the *Lycidas*—*The second part of Dromion*, the beautiful elegy in which he lamented the death of his school friend, Dionysius *Milton* *and his friends* *17* *Lycidas* was the last of the English lyrics, the *Epitaphium*, which should be studied in close connection with *Lycidas*, the last of the long Latin poems. Thenceforth, for a long spell, the rest was silence, so far as concerned poetry. The period which for all men represents the strength and maturity of manhood, which in the cases of other poets produces the best and most characteristic work, is with Milton a blank. In twenty years he composed no more than a bare handful of Sonnets, and even some of these are infected by the taint of political *animus*. Other interests filled his thoughts—the question of Church-reform, education, marriage, and, above all, politics.

Milton's first treatise upon the government of the Established Church (*Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England*) appeared in 1641. Others followed in quick succession. The abolition of Episcopacy was the watch-word of the enemies of the Anglican Church—the *delenda est Carthago* cry of Puritanism, and no one enforced the point with greater eloquence than Milton. During 1641 and 1642 he wrote five pamphlets on the subject. Meanwhile he was studying the principles of education. On his return from Italy he had undertaken the training of his nephews¹

¹ Edward and John Phillips, sons of Milton's only sister. Both subsequently joined the Royalist party. To Edward Phillips we owe a memoir of the poet.

This led to consideration of the best educational methods; and in the *Tractate of Education*, 1644, Milton assumed the part of educational theorist. In the previous year, May, 1643, he married¹. The marriage proved unfortunate. Its immediate outcome was the pamphlets on Divorce. Clearly he had little leisure for literature proper.

The finest of Milton's prose works, the *Arcopagtica*, a plea for the free expression of opinion, was published in 1644. In 1645² he edited the first collection of his poems. In 1649 his advocacy of the anti-royalist cause was recognised by the offer of a post under the newly appointed Council of State. His bold vindication of the trial of Charles I, *The Tenure of Kings*, had appeared

Political Pam-
phlets Ap-
pointment to
Latin Secre-
taryship

¹ His wife (who was only seventeen) was Mary Powell, eldest daughter of Richard Powell, of Forest Hill, a village some little distance from Oxford. She went to stay with her father in July 1643, and refused to return to Milton, why, it is not certain. She was reconciled to her husband in 1645, bore him four children, and died in 1652, in her twenty seventh year. No doubt, the scene in *P L* v. 909—946, in which Eve begs forgiveness of Adam, reproduced the poet's personal experience, while many passages in *S A* must have been inspired by the same cause.

² i.e. old style. The volume was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company under the date of October 6th, 1645. It was published on Jan. 2, 1645—6, with the following title page

"*Poems of Mr John Milton, both English and Latin, compos'd at several times. Printed by his true Copies. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr Henry Lawes, gentleman of the King's Chappel, and one of His Majesties private Musick*

—————*Baccare frontem*

Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro VIRG *Ecl* 7

Printed and publish'd according to Order London, Printed by Ruth Raworth, for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes Arms in Pauls Churchyard 1645"

From the prefatory Address to the Reader it is clear that the collection was due to the initiative of the publisher. Milton's own feeling is expressed by the motto, where the words "*vati futuro*" show that, as

earlier in the same year Milton accepted the offer, becoming Latin¹ Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. There was nothing distasteful about his duties. He drew up the despatches to foreign governments, translated state papers, and served as interpreter to foreign envoys. Had his duties stopped here his acceptance of the post would, I think, have proved an unqualified gain. It brought him into contact with the first men in the state², gave him a practical insight *of the past* into the working of national affairs and the motives of human action, in a word, furnished him with that experience of life which is essential to all poets who aspire to be something more than "the idle singers of an empty day." But unfortunately the secretaryship entailed the necessity of *its disadvantage* defending at every turn the past course of the *stage* revolution and the present policy of the Council. Milton, in fact, held a perpetual brief as advocate for his party. Hence the endless and unedifying controversies into which he drifted, controversies which wasted the most precious years of his life, warped, as some critics think, his nature, and eventually cost him his eyesight.

Between 1649 and 1660 Milton produced no less than eleven pamphlets. Several of these arose out of the publication of the famous *Latin Basilike*. The book *Milton's writings on behalf of the Commonwealth* was printed in 1649 and created so extraordinary a

he judged, his great achievement was yet to come. The volume was divided into two parts, the first containing the English, the second the Latin poems. *Comus* was printed at the close of the former, with a separate title page to mark its importance.

¹ A Latin Secretary was required because the Council scorned, as Edward Phillips says, "to carry on their affairs in the wheedling, hisping jargon of the cringing French." Milton's salary was £288, in modern money about £900.

² There is no proof that Milton ever had personal intercourse with Cromwell, and Mr Mark Pattison implies that he was altogether neglected by the foremost men of the time. Yet it seems unlikely that the Secretary of the Committee should not have been on friendly terms with some of its members, Vane, for example, and Whitelocke.

sensation that Milton was asked to reply to it. This he did with *Eikonoklastes*, introducing the wholly unworthy sneer at Sidney's *Arcadia* and the awkwardly expressed reference to Shakespeare¹ Controversy of this barren type has the inherent disadvantage that once started it may never end The Royalists commissioned the Leyden professor, Salmasius, to prepare a counterblast, the *Defensio Regia*, and this in turn was met by Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, 1651, *His blindness* over the preparation of which he lost what little power of eyesight remained² Salmasius retorted, and died before his second *farrago* of scurrilities was issued Milton was bound to answer, and the *Defensio Secunda* appeared in 1654 Neither of the combatants gained anything by the dispute, while the subsequent development of the controversy in which Milton crushed the Amsterdam pastor

¹ See *L'A* 133—134, note It would have been more to the point to remind his readers that the imprisoned king must have spent a good many hours over *La Calprenède* s *Cassandra*

² Perhaps this was the saddest part of the episode Milton tells us in the *Defensio Secunda* that his eyesight was injured by excessive study in boyhood "from the twelfth year of my age I scarce ever left my lessons and went to bed before midnight This was the first cause of my blindness" Continual reading and writing must have increased the infirmity, and by 1650 the sight of the left eye had gone. He was warned that he must not use the other for book work Unfortunately this was just the time when the Commonwealth stood most in need of his services If Milton had not written the first *Defence* he might have retained his partial vision. The choice lay between private good and public duty He repeated in 1650 the sacrifice of 1639 "In such a case I could not listen to the physician, not if Æsculapius himself had spoken from his sanctuary, I could not but obey that inward monitor, I know not what, that spoke to me from heaven I concluded to employ the little remaining eyesight I was to enjoy in doing this, the greatest service to the common weal it was in my power to render" (*Second Defence*) By the Spring of 1652 Milton was quite blind He was then in his forty fourth year The allusion in *P L* 111 21—26, leaves it doubtful from what disease he suffered, whether cataract or amaurosis Throughout *P L* and *S A* there are frequent references to his affliction.

and professor, Morus, goes far to prove the contention of Mr Mark Pattison, that it was an evil day when the poet left his study at Horon to do battle for the Commonwealth amid the vulgar brawls of the marketplace

"Not here, O Apollo,
Were haunts meet for thee."

Fortunately this poetic interregnum in Milton's life was no destined to last much longer. The Restoration came a blessing in disguise, and in 1660 the ruin of Milton's political party and of his personal hopes, the absolute overthrow of the cause for which he had fought for twenty years, left him free. The author of *Lycidas* could once more become a poet¹

The Restoration releases Milton from political life & turns to poetry

Much has been written upon this second period, 1639—1660, and a word may be said here. We saw what parting of the ways confronted Milton on his return from Italy. Did he choose aright? Should he have continued upon the path of learned leisure? There are writers who argue that Milton made a mistake. A poet, they say, should keep clear of political strife: fierce controversy can benefit no man who touches pitch must expect to be, certainly will be, defiled. Milton sacrificed twenty of the best years of his life, doing work which an underling could have done and which was not worth doing: another *Comus* might have been written, a loftier *Lycidas*; that literature should be the poorer by the absence of these possible masterpieces, that the second greatest genius which England has produced should in a way be the "inheritor of unfulfilled renown," is and must be a thing entirely and terribly deplorable. This is the view of the purely literary critic. Mr Mark Pattison writes very much to this effect.

Should Milton have kept apart from political life?

One reply to this question

¹ We have not attempted to trace the growth of Milton's political and religious opinions. "Through all these stages," Mr Mark Pattison writes, "Milton passed in the space of twenty years—Church Puritan, Presbyterian, Royalist, Independent, Commonwealth's man, Oliverian." To illustrate this statement would need many pages.

There remains the other side of the question. It may fairly be contended that had Milton elected in 1639 to live the scholar's life apart from "the action of men," *Paradise Lost*, as we have it, could never have been written¹. Knowledge of life and human nature, insight into the problems of men's motives and emotions, grasp of the broader issues of the human tragedy, all these were essential to the author of an epic poem, they could only be obtained through commerce with the world, they would have remained beyond the reach of a recluse. Dryden complained that Milton saw nature through the spectacles of books: we might have had to complain that he saw men through the same medium. Fortunately it is not so: and it is not so because at the age of twenty-two he threw in his fortunes with those of his country, like the diver in Schiller's ballad he took the plunge which was to cost him so dear. The mere man of letters will never move the world. Æschylus fought at Marathon. Shakespeare was practical to the tips of his fingers, a better business man than Goethe: there was not within a radius of a hundred miles of Weimar

This aspect of the question is emphasised by Milton himself. The man he says, "who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things, *not² presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have within himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy*" Again, in estimating the qualifications which the writer of an epic such as he contemplated should possess, he is careful to include "insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs³"

Truth usually lies half-way between extremes: perhaps it does so here. No doubt, Milton did gain very greatly by breathing awhile the larger air of public life, even though that air was often tainted by

¹ This is equally true of *S. A.*

² The italics are not Milton's

³ *Reason of Church Government*, P. IV. 11. 481

miasmatic impurities No doubt, too, twenty years of contention must have left their mark even on Milton In one of the very few places¹ where he "abides our question," Shakespeare writes

O! for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
That did not better for my life provide,
Than public means, which public manners breeds
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand,
And almost thence my nature is subdu'd
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand

Milton's genius was subdued in this way If we compare him, the Milton of the great epics and of *Samson Agonistes*, with Homer or Shakespeare—and none but the greatest can be his parallel—we find in him a certain want of humanity, a touch of narrowness He lacks the large-heartedness, the genial, generous breadth of Shakespeare, the sympathy and sense of the *lacrime rerum* that even in *Troilus and Cressida* or *Timon of Athens* are there for those who have eyes wherewith to see them Milton reflects many of the less gracious aspects of Puritanism, its intolerance, want of humour, one-sided intensity He is stern, unbending, austere, and it seems natural to assume that this narrowness was to a great extent the price he paid for two decades of ceaseless special pleading and dispute. The real misfortune of his life lay in the fact that he fell on evil, angry days when there was no place for moderate men He had to be one of two things either a controversialist or a student there was no *via media* Probably he chose aright, but we could wish that the conditions under which he chose had been different.

The last part of Milton's life, 1660—1674, passed quietly At the age of fifty-two he was thrown back upon poetry, and could at length discharge his self-imposed obligation The early poems he had never regarded as a fulfilment of the debt due to his Creator

From the Restoration to Milton's death

¹ *Sonnet CXI*

Even when the fire of political strife burned at its hottest, Milton did not forget the purpose which he had conceived in his boyhood. Of that purpose *Paradise Lost* was the attainment. We trace its history later on. At present it suffices to observe that the poem was begun about 1658, was finished in 1663, the year of Milton's third¹ marriage, revised from 1663 to 1665, and eventually issued in 1667. Before its publication Milton had commenced (in the autumn of 1665) its sequel *Paradise Regained*, which in turn was closely followed by *Samson Agonistes*. The completion of *Paradise Regained* may be assigned to the year 1666—that of *Samson Agonistes* to 1667. Some time was spent in their revision, and in January, 1671, they were published together, in a single volume.

In 1673 Milton brought out a reprint of the 1645 edition of *Close of Milton's life* his *Poems*, adding most of the sonnets² written in the interval. The last four years of his life were

¹ Milton's second marriage took place in the autumn of 1656, i. e. after he had become blind. His wife died in February, 1658. Of the *Sonnet*, "Methought I saw my late espoused saint," the pathos of which is heightened by the fact that he had never seen her.

² The number of Milton's sonnets is twenty three (if we exclude the piece on "The New Forcers of Conscience"), five of which were written in Italian, probably during the time of his travels in Italy, 1638—9. Ten sonnets were printed in the edition of 1645, the last of them being that entitled (from the *Cambridge MS*) "To the Lady Margaret Ley." The remaining thirteen were composed between 1645 and 1658. The concluding sonnet, therefore (to the memory of Milton's second wife), immediately preceded his commencement of *Paradise Lost*. Four of these poems (XV XVI XVII XXII) could not, on account of their political tone, be included in the edition of 1673. They were first published by Edward Phillips together with his memoir of Milton, 1694. The sonnet on the "Massacre in Piedmont" is usually considered the finest of the collection, of which the late Rector of Lincoln College edited a well known edition, 1883. The sonnet inscribed with a diamond on a window pane in the cottage at Chalfont where the poet stayed in 1665 is (in the judgment of a good critic) Miltonic, if not Milton's (*Garnett's Life of Milton*, p. 175).

devoted to prose works of no particular interest to us¹ He continued to live in London His third marriage had proved happy, and he enjoyed something of the renown which was rightly his Various well-known men used to visit him—notably Dryden², who on one of his visits asked and received permission to dramatise *Paradise Lost* It does not often happen that a university can point to two such poets among her living sons, each without rival in his generation

Milton died in 1674, November 8th He was buried in St Giles' Church, Cripplegate When we think of him we have to think of a man who lived a life of very *His death* singular purity and devotion to duty, who for what he conceived to be his country's good sacrificed—and no one can well estimate the sacrifice—during twenty years the aim that was nearest to his heart and best suited to his genius, who, however, eventually realised his desire of writing a great work *in gloriam Dei*

¹ The treatise on *Christian Doctrine* is valuable as throwing much light on the theological views expressed in the two epic poems and *SA* It was the discovery of the MS of this treatise in 1823 that gave Macaulay an opportunity of writing his famous essay on Milton

² The lines by Dryden which were printed beneath the portrait of Milton in Tonson's folio edition of *Paradise Lost* published in 1688 are too familiar to need quotation, but it is worth noting that the younger poet had in Milton's lifetime described the great epic as "one of the most noble, and most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced" (prefatory essay to *The State of Innocence*, 1674) Further, tradition assigned to Dryden (a Catholic and a Royalist) the remark, "this fellow (Milton) cuts us all out and the ancients too"

PARADISE LOST

We have observed that the dominating idea of Milton's life was his resolve to write a great poem—great in theme, in style, in attainment. To this purpose was he dedicated as a boy just as Hannibal was dedicated, at the altar of patriotism, to the cause of his country's revenge, or Pitt to a life of political ambition. Milton's works—particularly his letters and prose pamphlets—enable us to trace the growth of the idea which was shaping his intellectual destinies, and as every poet is best interpreted by his own words, Milton shall speak for himself.

Two of the earliest indications of his cherished plan are the *Vacation Exercise* and the second *Sonnet*. The *Early indications of Milton's resolve to compose a great work* *Exercise* commences with an invocation (not without significance, as we shall see) to his "native language," to assist him in giving utterance to the teeming thoughts that knock at the portal of his lips, fain to find an issue thence. The bent of these thoughts is towards the loftiest themes. Might he choose for himself, he would select some "grave subject."

"Such where the deep transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
Look in, and see each blissful deity

Then sing of secret things that came to pass
While beldam Nature in her cradle was"

But recognising soon that such matters are inappropriate to the occasion—a College festivity—he arrests the flight of his muse with a humorous *descende cælo*, and declines on a lower range of subject, more fitting to the social scene and the audience. Now, this *Exercise* was composed in 1628, in Milton's twentieth year, or, according to his method of dating, *anno ætatis XIX*. It is important as revealing—firstly, the poet's consciousness of the divine impulse within, for which poetry is the natural outlet,

secondly, the elevation of theme with which that poetry must deal. A boy in years, he would like to handle the highest 'arguments,' challenging thereby comparison with the *sacri vates* of inspired verse, the elect few whose ^{Ambitious character of his scheme} poetic appeal is to the whole world. A vision of Heaven itself must be unrolled before his steadfast eagle-gaze he will win a knowledge of the causes of things such as even Vergil, his master, modestly disclaimed. Little wonder, therefore, that, filled with these splendid ambitions, Milton did not shrink, only two years later (1629—30), from attempting to sound the deepest mysteries of Christianity—the Nativity and the Passion of Christ, howbeit, sensible of his immaturity, he left his poem on the latter subject unfinished¹

The *Sonnet* to which reference has been made deserves quotation at length

"How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
 Stolen on his wing my three and twentieth year!
 My hasting days fly on with full career,
 But my late spring no bud or blossom sheweth
 Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth
 That I to manhood am arrived so near,
 And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
 That some more timely happy spirits endueth
 Yet, be it less or more, or soon or slow,
 It shall be still in strictest measure even
 To that same lot, however mean or high,
 Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven,
 All is, if I have grace to use it so,
 As ever in my great Task Master's eye "

¹ A passage in the sixth *Elegy* shows that the *Nativity Ode* was begun on Christmas morning, 1629. *The Passion* may have been composed for the following Easter, it breaks off with the notice—"This Subject the Author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished." Evidently Milton was minded to recur to both subjects, the list of schemes in the Trinity MS has the entries "Christ born, Christ bound, Christ crucified."

Mr Mark Pattison justly calls these lines "an inseparable part of Milton's biography" they bring out so clearly the poet's solemn devotion to his self-selected task, and his determination not to essay the execution of that task until the time of complete "inward ripeness" has arrived. The *Sonnet* was one of the last poems composed by Milton during his residence at Cambridge. The date is 1631. From 1632 to 1638 was a period of almost unbroken self-preparation, such as the *Sonnet* foreshadows. Of the intensity of his application to literature a letter written in 1637 (the exact day being Sept. 7, 1637) enables us to judge.

Self preparation for his project, shown in his letters

"It is my way," he says to Carlo Diodati, in excuse for remissness as a correspondent, "to suffer no impediment, no love of ease, no avocation whatever, to chill the ardour, to break the continuity, or divert the completion of my literary pursuits. From this and no other reasons it often happens that I do not readily employ my pen in any gratuitous exertions¹" But these exertions were not sufficient the probation must last longer. In the same month, on the 23rd, he writes to the same friend, who had made enquiry as to his occupations and plans "I am sure that you wish me to gratify your curiosity, and to let you know what I have been doing, or am meditating to do. Hear me, my Diodati, and suffer me for a moment to speak, without blushing, in a more lofty strain. Do you ask what I am meditating? By the help of Heaven, an immortality of fame? But what am I doing? *ἡεροφύω*, I am letting my wings grow and preparing to fly, but my Pegasus has not yet feathers enough to soar aloft in the fields of air²" Four years later we find a similar admission—"I have not yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies³"

Encouraged by friends in Italy and at home.

This last sentence was written in 1640 (or 1641) Meanwhile his resolution had been confirmed by the friendly and flattering encouragement of Italian

¹ *P. IV. III. 492*

² *P. IV. III. 495*

³ *Church Gov., P. IV. II. 476*

servants—a stimulus which he records in an oft-cited passage¹

“In the private academies² of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort, perceiving that some trifles³ which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there,) met with acceptance above what was looked for, and other things⁴, which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up among them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side of the Alps, I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intense study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die”

It was during this Italian journey (1638—39) that Milton first gave a hint of the particular direction in which this ambition was setting at least we are vouchsafed a glimpse of the possible subject-matter of the contemplated poem, and there is that on which may be built conjecture as to its style. He had enjoyed at Naples the hospitality of the then famous writer Giovanni Battista Manso, whose courteous reception the young English traveller, *ut ne ingratum se ostenderet*, acknowledged in

*First choice of
a subject the
Arthurian le-
gend date 1638
—1639*

¹ *Church Gov*, P IV II 477, 478, a few lines have already been quoted in the *Life* of Milton, p xii

² He refers to literary societies or clubs, of which there were several at Florence, e.g. the Della Crusca, the Svogliati, etc

³ i.e. Latin pieces, the *Elegies*, as well as some of the poems included in his *Sylva*, were written before he was twenty one

⁴ Among the Latin poems which date from his Italian journey are the lines *Ad Salsillum*, a few of the *Epigrams*, and *Mansus*. Perhaps, too, the “other things” comprehended those essays in Italian verse which he had the courage to read before a Florentine audience—and they the indulgence to praise

the piece of Latin hexameters afterwards printed in his *Sylva* under the title *Mansus*. In the course of the poem Milton definitely speaks of the remote legends of British history—more especially, the Arthurian legend—as the theme which he might some day treat. “May I,” he says, “find such a friend¹ as Manso,”

*Siquando² indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
Aut dicam invictæ sociali fudere mensæ
Magnanimos Heroes, et—O modo spiritus adsit—
Frangam Saxoncas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!*

This was in 1638. In the next year, after his return to England, he recurs to the project in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, his account being far more detailed

*Ipse³ ego Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes
Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogenur,*

¹ i.e. a friend who would pay honour to him as Manso had paid honour to the poet Marini. Manso had helped in the erection of a monument to Marini at Naples, and Milton alludes to this at the beginning of the poem.

² “If ever I shall revive in verse our native kings, and Arthur levying war in the world below, or tell of the heroic company of the resistless Table Round, and—be the inspiration mine!—break the Saxon bands neath the might of British chivalry.”

³ “I will tell of the Trojan fleet sailing our southern seas, and the ancient realm of Imogen, Pandrasus’ daughter, and of Brennus, Arviragus, and Belinus old, and the Armoric settlers subject to British laws. Then will I sing of Iogerne, fatally pregnant with Arthur—how Uther feigned the features and assumed the armour of Gorlois, through Merlin’s craft. And you, my pastoral pipe, an life be lent me, shall hang on some sere pine, forgotten of me, or changed to native notes shall shrill forth British strains.” In the first lines he alludes to the legend of Brutus and the Trojans landing in England. *Rutupina* = Kentish. The story of Arthur’s birth at which he glances is referred to in the *Idylls of the King*. The general drift of the last verses is that he will give up Latin for English verse, *strides* is a future, from *strido* (cf. *Æneid* iv. 689).

*Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
 Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos,
 Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Togernem,
 Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
 Merlinum dolus O, mihi tum si vita supersit,
 Tu procul annosa pendebris, fistula, pinu,
 Multum oblita mihi, aut patris mulata Camænis
 Brittonicum strides*

Here, as before, he first glances at the stories which date from the very dawn of British myth and romance, and then passes to the most fascinating of the later cycles of national legend—the grey traditions that cluster round the hero of the *Idylls of the King*, the fabled son of Uther. And this passage, albeit the subject which it indicates was afterwards rejected by Milton, possesses a twofold value for those who would follow, step by step, the development of the idea which had as its final issue the composition of *Paradise Lost*. For, first, the concluding verses show that whatever the theme of the poem, whatever the style, the instrument of expression would be English—that “native language” whose help Milton had petitioned in the *Vacation Exercise*. An illustration of his feeling on this point is furnished by the treatise on *Church Government*. He says there that his work must make for “the honour and instruction” of his country. “I applied myself to that resolution which Ariosto followed to fix all the industry and all the art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, might do for mine¹” Here is a clear announcement of

*The poem to
 be written in
 English*

¹ *P W II* 478 Reference has been made so frequently to this pamphlet on *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty*, (1641), that it may be well to explain that the introduction to the second book is entirely autobiographical. Milton shows why he ever embarked on such controversies, how much it cost him to do so, what

his ambition to take rank as a great national poet. The note struck is patriotism. He will produce that which shall set English on a level with the more favoured Italian, and give his countrymen cause to be proud of their

“dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world¹”

To us indeed it may appear strange that Milton should have thought it worth while to emphasise what would now be considered a self-evident necessity: what modern poet, with a serious conception of his office and duty, would dream of employing any other language than his own? But we must remember that in those days the empire of the classics was unquestioned: scholarship was accorded a higher dignity than now: the composition of long poems in Latin was still a custom honoured in the observance: and whoso sought to appeal to the “laureate fraternity” of scholars and men of letters, independently of race and country, would naturally turn to the *lingua franca* of the learned. At any rate, the use of English—less known than either Italian or French—placed a poet at a great disadvantage, so far as concerned acceptance in foreign lands, and when Milton determined to rely on his

*Milton aban-
dons Latin
verse* *patriæ Camænæ*, he foresaw that this would circumscribe his audience, and that he would have to rest content with the applause of his own countrymen, nor ever, as he phrases it, “be once named abroad.” And there is some significance in the occasion when he made this declaration. Up till the publication of the *Epitaphium* his friends had known him—to the public he was not even a name—as the composer of a number of pieces of elegiacs not unworthy, at times, of Ovid, and of some almost Vergilian hexameters

hopes he had of returning to poetry, what was his view of the poet's mission and of his own capacity to discharge that mission. His prose-works contain nothing more valuable than these ten pages of self-criticism.

¹ *Richard II* II. i. 57, 58

Of his English poems only three¹ had been published—each anonymously. It might have been supposed that residence in Italy, the home of Latin scholarship, would incline him to continue to seek fame as a master of Latinity; yet, as if to dispel this impression, he announces straightway after his return that he intends to discard the rôle of mere scholar, and assume that of national poet.

Again, these lines in the *Epitaphium* give us some grounds of surmise as to the proposed form of his poem. The historic events—or traditions—epitomised in the passage were too far separated in point of time, and too devoid of internal coherence and connexion, to admit of dramatic treatment. Milton evidently contemplated a narrative poem, and for one who had drunk so deep of the classical spirit a narrative could scarce have meant aught else than an epic. Indeed thus much is implied by some sentences in the *Reason of Church Government*, which represent him as considering whether to attempt that “epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a model or whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation²”

But *dramatic* introduces a fresh phase, and as the first period of the history of *Paradise Lost*, or rather of the idea which finally took shape in that poem, closes with the *Epitaphium* (1639), it may not be

¹ These were the lines on Shakespeare, unsigned and lost among the commendatory verses prefixed to the second Folio of Shakespeare, 1632, *Comus*, issued by his friend Henry Lawes in 1634, without any name on the title-page, and *Lycidas*, printed in a volume scarce likely to circulate outside Cambridge, and only signed with the initials ‘J M’. To these might be added a fourth piece in the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, could we verify the tradition mentioned by Warton that it was originally published in a Cambridge collection of Elegiac verse, about 1631. (I have discussed this point in the *Introduction to Lycidas*, pp. xl—xli.)

² *P. H. II* 478, 479

amiss to summarise the impressions deduced up to this point from the various passages which we have quoted from Milton. We have seen, then, Milton's early resolve, its ambitious scope, his self-preparation, the encouragement he received in Italy and from friends at home, his announcement in 1638, repeated in 1639, that he has discovered a suitable subject in British fable—more especially, in the legend of the Coming and Passing of Arthur, his formal farewell to Latin verse, in favour of his native tongue, his desire to win recognition as a great national *vates*, and his selection of the epic style.

In respect of chronology we have reached the year 1639—

1640 The second period extends from 1640 to
Second stage
in the evolution
of the poem,
1639—1642 1642 I select these dates for this reason. We shall see that some verses of *Paradise Lost* were written in 1642 after 1642, up till 1658, we hear no more of the poem—proof that the idea has been temporarily abandoned under stress of politics. Therefore 1642 may be regarded as the ulterior limit of this second period. And it is not, I think, fanciful to consider that *Paradise Lost* entered on a fresh stage after 1639, because between 1639 and 1642 Milton's plans underwent a twofold change by which the character of the poem was entirely altered.

First, the subject for which he had shown so decided a bias is discarded after 1639 no mention is made of King Arthur. We have no hint of the cause which led Milton to drop the subject, but I would venture to suggest that it lay in his increasing republicanism. He could not have treated the theme from an unfavourable standpoint. The hero of the poem must have been for him, as for the Milton of our own century, a type of all kingly grandeur and worth, and it would have gone sore against the grain with the future apologist for regicide to exercise his powers in creating a royal figure that would shed lustre on monarchy, and in a measure plead for the institution which Milton detested so heartily¹. Only a Royalist could have retold the story, making it illustrate "the divine

¹ See the notes on *P. L.* \II 24, 36

right of kings," and bodying forth in the character of the blameless monarch the Cavalier conception of Charles I. Be this as it may (and the change, I am sure, did not spring from mere caprice), Milton thrust the subject on one side, and it finds no place in a list of one hundred possible subjects of his poem.

Secondly, from this period, 1639—1642, dates an alteration in the design of the contemplated work. Hitherto his tendency has been towards the epic form. *Change of style the poem to be—not an epic but—a drama* now (1640 or 1641) we find him preferring the dramatic. Shall he imitate Sophocles and Euripides? Shall he transplant to English soil the art of the "lofty grave tragedians" of Greece? The question is answered in a decided affirmative. Had Milton continued the poem of which the opening lines were written in 1642 we should have had—not an epic but—a drama, or possibly a trilogy of dramas, cast in a particular manner, as will be observed presently. This transference of his inclinations from the epic to the dramatic style appears to date from the year 1641. It is manifested in the Milton MSS at Trinity College. Of these MSS a word must be said.

When the present library of Trinity College, the erection of which was begun during the Mastership of Isaac Barrow, was completed, one of its earliest benefactors was a former member of Trinity, Sir Henry Newton Puckering. *The Milton MSS at Cambridge* Among his gifts was a thin MS volume of fifty-four pages, which had served Milton as a commonplace book. How it came into the possession of Sir Henry Puckering is not known. He was contemporary with, though junior to, Milton, and may possibly have been one of the admirers who visited the poet in the closing years of his life, and discharged the office of amanuensis, or perhaps there was some family connection by means of which the MS passed into his hands. But if the history of the book be obscure, its value is not, for it contains—now in Milton's autograph, now in strange, unidentified handwritings—the original drafts of several of his early poems notably of *Arcades*, *Lycidas* and *Comus*, together with

many of the *Sonnets*. The volume, be it observed, is not (as might be inferred from some descriptions thereof) a random collection of scattered papers bound together after Milton's death: it exists (apart from its sumptuous modern investiture) exactly in the same form as that wherein Milton knew and used it two centuries and a half ago. And this point is important because the order of the pages, and, by consequence, of their contents, is an index to the order of the composition of the poems. Milton, about the year 1631, had had the sheets of paper stitched together and then worked through the little volume, page on page, inserting his pieces as they were written. They cover a long period, from 1631 to 1658—the earlier date being marked by the second *Sonnet*, the later by the last of the series—"Methought I saw." It is rather more than half way through the MS. that we light on the entries which have so direct a bearing on the history of *Paradise Lost*.

These are notes, written by Milton himself (probably in 1641), and occupying seven pages of the manuscript, on subjects which seemed to him suitable, in varying degrees of appropriateness, for his poem. Some of the entries are very brief—concise jottings down, in two or three words, of any theme that struck him. Others are more detailed: the salient features of some episode in history are selected, and a sketch of the best method of treating them added. In a few instances these sketches are filled in with much minuteness and care: the 'economy' or arrangement of the poem is marked out—the action traced from point to point. But, *Paradise Lost* apart, this has been done in only a few cases—a half dozen, at most. As a rule, the source whence the material of the work might be drawn, is indicated. The subjects themselves, numbering just one hundred, fall, in a rough classification, under two headings—Scriptural and British¹—and by 'British' are meant those which Milton drew from the chronicles of British history prior to the Norman Conquest. The former

¹ It is to them, no doubt, that Milton refers in the *Church Government* when he says that he may perhaps find what he requires in "our own ancient stories," *P. W.* II. 479.

are the more numerous class—sixty-two being derived from the Bible, of which the Old Testament claims fifty-four. Their character will be best illustrated by quotation of a few typical examples.

Abram in Egypt
Josiah in Gibeon *Josiah* 10
Jerathan rescued *Sam* 1 14
Saul in Gilboa *1 Sam* 28 34
Gideon Idololastres *Jud* 6 7
Abimelech, the usurper *Jud* 9
*Samarra Liberata*¹ *2 Reg* 7
Isa or Athiopes, *2 Chron* 14 *with*
the deposing his mother, and burning her Idol

These are some of the subjects drawn from the New Testament

Lazarus *John* 11
Christ risen
Christus patiens

*The Scene in y^e garden beginning from y^e coming thither
 til Judas betraies and y^e officers lead him away—y^e rest by
 message and chorus. His agony may receive noble expres-
 sions*

Of British subjects there are thirty-three. The last page is assigned to "Scotch stories or rather brittish of the north parts." Among these *Macbeth* is conspicuous. Practically they may be grouped with the thirty-three, and the combined list is remarkable—first, because it does not include the Arthurian legend, which had once exercised so powerful a fascination on Milton, secondly, because in its brevity, as compared with the list of Scriptural subjects, it suggests his preference for a sacred poem.

Of the Scriptural subjects the story of the Creation and Fall assumes the most prominent place. Any friend of Milton glancing through these papers in 1641 could have conjectured, with tolerable certainty, where the poet's final choice would fall. For no

*Prose sketches
 of the scheme
 of a poem on
 the Fall of
 Man*

¹ The title is an obvious allusion to 1150's *Gerusalemme Liberata*.

less than four of the entries refer to *Paradise Lost* Three of these stand at the head of the list of sacred themes In all four his intention to treat the subject in dramatic form is patent.

The two first drafts The two first—mere enumerations of possible *dramatis personæ*—run thus¹, it will be seen that the longer list is simply an expansion of the other

the Persons

Michael
Heavenly Love
Chorus of Angels
Lucifer
Adam } *with the serpent*
Eve }
Conscience
Death
Labour
Sickness }
Discontent } *mutes*
Ignorance }
with others }
Faith
Hope
Charity

the Persons

*Moses*²
*Justice*³, *Mercie*, *Wisdom*
Heavenly Love
Hesperus the Evening Starre
Chorus of Angels
Lucifer
Adam
Eve
*Conscience*⁴
Labour
Sickness }
Discontent } *mutes*
Ignorance }
Feare
Death
Faith
Hope
Charity

¹ As they are in the original, without any modernisation Neither is introduced with any title.

² Milton wrote, "Moses or Michael," and afterwards deleted *or Michael*

³ The epithet *divine*, qualifying *Justice*, was inserted and then crossed out again

⁴ After *Conscience* Milton added *Death*, as in the first list, then deleted it, and placed *Death* among the 'mutes' (*mute personæ*, characters who appeared without speaking)

These lists are crossed out, and underneath stands a much fuller sketch, in which the action of the tragedy is shown, and the division into acts observed. Here, too, we first meet with the title *Paradise Lost*. The scheme is as follows

*Paradise Lost**The Persons*

Moses προλογίζει, recounting how he assum'd his true bodie, that it corrupts not because of his¹ with God in the mount, declares the like of Enoch and Eliah, besides the purity of y^e place, that certaine pure winds, dews, and clouds preserve it from corruption, whence exhorts to the sight of God, tells they² cannot see Adam in the state of innocence by reason of thure sin³

Justice }
Mercie } debating what should become of man if he fall
Wisdom }
Chorus of Angels sing a hymne of y^e Creation

Act 2

Heavenly Love

Evening starre

Chorus sing the marriage song and describe Paradise

Act 3

Lucifer contriving Adams ruine

Chorus fears for Adam and relates Lucifers rebellion and fall

Act 4.

Adam }
Eve } fallen

Conscience cites them to Gods examination

Chorus bewails and tells the good Adam hath lost

¹ We must supply some word, e g *being*

² They, i e the imaginary audience to whom the prologue is addressed Cf the commencement of *Comus*

³ After this the first act begins

Act 5

*Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise
presented by an angel with*

Labour

Griefe

Hatred

Envie

Warre

Famine

Pestilence

Sickness

Discontent

Ignorance

Feare

*Death enterd
into y^e world*

*rites to whom he gives thire names
like wise Winter, Heat, Tempest, etc*

Faith

Hope

Charity

comfort him and instruct him

Chorus briefly concludes

This draft of the tragedy, which occurs on page 35 of the
The fourth MS, is not deleted, but Milton was still dissatisfied,
draft and later on, page 40, we come to a fourth, and
concluding, scheme—which reads thus

Adam unparadis'd¹

*The angel Gabriel, either descending or entering², shewing
since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth, as
in heaven, describes Paradise Next the chorus shewing the
reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise after
Lucifers rebellion by command from God, and withall expressing*

¹ Underneath was written, and crossed out, an alternative title—*Adams Banishment*

² Cf the second stage-direction in *Comus*—"The Attendant Spirit descends or enters"

his¹ desire to see, and know more concerning this excellent new creature man. The angel Gabriel, as by his name signifying a prince of power, tracing² Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of y^e chorus, and desired by them relates what he knew of man—as the creation of Eve with thire love and mariage. After this Lucifer appeares after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge on man, the chorus prepare resistance at his first approach, at last after discourse of enmity on either side he departs, whereat the chorus sings of the battell, and victorie in heavn against him and his accomplices, as before after the first act³ was sung a hymn of the creation. Heer⁴ again may appear Lucifer relating, and insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man. Man next and Eve having by this time bin seduct^d by the serpent appeares confusedly cover'd with leaves, conscience in a shape accuses him, Justice cites him to the place whither Jehova called for him. In the mean while the chorus entertains the stage, and is inform'd by some angel the manner of his fall, heer⁴ the chorus bewailes Adams fall. Adam then and Eve retorne and accuse one another, but especially Adam layes the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offence. Justice appeares, reasons with him, convinces him. The⁴ chorus admonisheth Adam, and bids him beware by Lucifers example of impenitence. The angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise, but before causes to passe before his eyes in shap^s a mask of all the evils of this life and world, he is humbl'd, relents, despaires. At last appeares Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah, then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity, instructs him. He repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty. The chorus briefly concludes. Compare this with the former draught (i.e. draft)

¹ *his*, i.e. the chorus's, he makes the chorus now a singular, now a plural, noun. The irregularity of the style of the whole entry, with its lack of punctuation, shows that it is merely a jotting, such as anyone might commit to a private memorandum book.

² Passing through, cf. *Comus* 423.

³ i.e. in the third draft.

⁴ Each of these sentences was an after thought, added below or in the margin.

With regard to the subject, therefore, thus much is clear as early as 1641—2 Milton has manifested an unmistakeable preference for the story of the lost Paradise, and the evidence of the Trinity MSS coincides with the testimony of Aubrey and Phillips, who say that the poet did, in 1642, commence the composition of a poem on this theme—of which poem the opening verses of *Paradise Lost*, book IV (Satan's address to the sun), formed the exordium. It is, I think, by no means improbable that some other portions of the epic are really fragments of this unfinished work. Milton may have written two or three hundred lines, have kept them in his desk, and then, years afterward, when the project was resumed, have made use of them where opportunity offered. Had the poem, however, been completed in accordance with his original conception we should have had a tragedy, not an epic.

Of this there is abundant proof. The third and fourth sketches, as has been observed, are dramatic. On the first page of these entries, besides those lists of *dramatis personæ* which we have treated as the first and second sketches, stand the words "*other Tragedies*," followed by the enumeration of several feasible subjects. The list of British subjects is prefaced with the heading—"British Trag" (i.e. tragedies). Wherever Milton has outlined the treatment of any of the Scriptural themes a tragedy is clearly indicated. Twice, indeed, another form is mentioned—the pastoral, and probably a dramatic pastoral was intended¹. These, however, are exceptions, serving to emphasise his leaning towards tragedy.

But what sort of tragedy? I think we may fairly conclude that, if carried out on the lines laid down in the fourth sketch, *Adam unparadis'd* would have borne a very marked resem-

¹ These are the two entries in the MS referred to *Theristria*, a Pastoral out of Ruth, and—the sheepshearers in Carmel, a Pastoral 1 Sam 25. There is but one glance at the epical style, in the list of "British Tragedies," after mentioning an episode in the life of King Alfred appropriate to dramatic handling, he adds—"A Heroicall Poem may be founded somewhere in Alfreds reign."

blance to *Samson Agonistes* it would have conformed, in the main, to the same type—that, namely, of the ancient Greek drama. With the romantic stage of the Elizabethans Milton appears to have felt little sympathy¹ else he would scarce have written certain verses in *Il Penseroso*² Nor do I believe that his youthful enthusiasm for Shakespeare endured long³ certainly, within a few years of the period of which we are speaking he penned the unfortunate passage in *Ekkonoklastes* which only just escapes being a sneer at Shakespeare, while the condemnation of one important aspect of Shakespearian tragedy in the preface to *Samson Agonistes* is too plain to be misinterpreted So had Milton been minded to dramatise the story of Macbeth—we have marked its presence in the list of Scottish subjects—his *Macbeth* would have differed *toto cælo* from Shakespeare's In the same way, his tragedy of *Paradise Lost* would have been wholly un-Shakespearian, wholly un-Elizabethan Nor would it have had any affinity to the drama of Milton's contemporaries⁴, those belated Elizabethans bungling with exhausted materials and forms that had lost all vitality Tragedy for Milton could mean but one thing—the tragic stage of the Greeks, the “dramatic constitutions” of Sophocles and Euripides and when we examine these sketches of *Paradise Lost* we find in them the familiar features of Athenian drama—certain signs eloquent of the source on which the poet has drawn.

In the style of the Greek drama.

Let us, for example, glance at the draft of *Adam unparadis'd*. Milton has kept the “unities” of place and time. The scene does not change, it is set in some part of Eden, and everything represented before the eyes of the audience occurs at the same spot. But whoso regards the unity of place must suffer a portion of the action to happen off the stage—not enacted in the presence of the audi-

This is shown by the Trinity MSS

¹ On this point see *Appendix to S A*, pp 162, 163

² ll 101, 102, see note on them

³ See note on *L'Al* 133, 134 (Pitt Press ed)

⁴ In the treatise *On Education*, 1644, he speaks of “our common rhymers and play-writers” as “despicable creatures,” *P W* III 474

ence (as in a modern play where the scene changes), but reported. In *Samson Agonistes* Milton employs the traditional device of the Greek tragedians—he relates the catastrophe by the mouth of a messenger. So here the temptation by the serpent is not represented on the scene—it is described—partly by Lucifer, “relating, and insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man,” partly by an angel who informs the Chorus of the manner of the fall. Again, the unity of time is observed. The time over which the action of a tragedy might extend according to the usual practice of the Greek dramatists was twenty-four hours. In *Samson Agonistes* the action begins at sunrise and ends at noon, thus occupying seven or eight hours. In *Adam unparadis’d* the action would certainly not exceed the customary twenty-four hours. Again a Chorus is introduced (sure sign of classical influence), and not only introduced, but handled exactly as Milton, following his Greek models, has handled it in *Samson Agonistes*: that is to say, closely identified with the action of the tragedy, even as Aristotle recommends that it should be¹. Further, in the fourth scheme the division into acts is carefully avoided—an advance this on the third scheme. Similarly, in *Samson Agonistes* Milton avoids splitting up the play into scenes and acts, calling attention to the fact in his preface. Proofs² of Milton’s classical bias might be multiplied from these Milton MSS., and personally I have no doubt that when he began the tragedy of which Aubrey and Phillips speak, he meant to revive in English the methods and style of his favourite

¹ See *Introduction to S. A.*, pp. xxiv—xxvi.

² Thus, apart from *P. L.*, the Scriptural themes whereof the fullest sketches are given, are three tragedies severally entitled *Isaac redeem’d*, *Baptistes* (i.e. on the subject of John the Baptist and Herod), and *Sodom burning*. In each the two unities (time and place) are kept, and a Chorus used. In *Isaac redeem’d* the incident of the sacrifice is reported, and the description of the character of the hero Abraham as Milton meant to depict him is simply a paraphrase on Aristotle’s definition of the ideal tragic hero. Most of the other subjects have a sub title such as the Greek tragedians employed. To a classical scholar the bearing of such evidence is patent.

Greek poets But the scheme soon had to be abandoned, and not till a quarter of a century later was it executed, with only a change of subject, in *Samson Agonistes*¹

The third period in the genesis of *Paradise Lost* dates from 1658. In that year, according to Aubrey, Milton *'Paradise Lost begun* began the poem as we know it. He had determined by that time on the epic style. He was still Secretary, but his duties were very light, and allowed him to devote himself to poetry. At the Restoration he was in danger, for some time, of his life, and was imprisoned for a few months. But in spite of this interruption and of his blindness², the epic was *Completed and revised* finished about 1663. The history of each of his longer poems shows that he was exceedingly careful in revising his works—loth to let them go forth to the world till all that was possible had been done to achieve perfection. It is Aubrey's statement that *Paradise Lost* was completed in 1663, while Milton's friend Thomas Ellwood, the Quaker, describes in a famous passage of his *Autobiograph*, how in 1665 the poet placed a manuscript in his hands—"bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure, and, when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon. When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he intituled *Paradise Lost*" Ellwood's account may be reconciled with Aubrey's on the reasonable supposition that the interval between 1663 and 1665 was spent in revision. Still, some delay in publishing the poem ensued. On the outbreak of the Plague in 1665 Milton had left London, retiring to Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, where Ellwood had rented a cottage for him. He returned in the next year, 1666,

¹ The point is important because it disposes of the silly notion that Milton borrowed the idea of writing a tragedy on the classical model from the play of *Samson* by the Dutch poet Vondel. See *Appendix to S A*, pp 162—164.

² According to Edward Phillips, Milton dictated the poem to any one who chanced to be present and was willing to act as amanuensis, afterwards Phillips would go over the MS, correcting errors, under his uncle's direction.

but again there was delay—this time through the great Fire of London which disorganized business. Not till 1667
Published did *Paradise Lost* appear in print. The date of the agreement drawn up between Milton and his publisher—by which he received an immediate payment of £5, and retained certain rights over the future sale of the book—is dated April 27, 1667. The date on which *Paradise Lost* was entered in the Stationers' Register is August 20, 1667. No doubt, copies were in circulation in the autumn of this year.

This first edition of *Paradise Lost* raises curious points¹ of bibliography into which there is no need to enter here, but we must note three things. (i) The poem was divided into—not twelve books but—ten
The first edition (ii) In the earlier copies issued to the public there were no prose *Arguments*, these (written, we may suppose, by Milton himself) were printed all together and inserted at the commencement of each of the later volumes of this first edition—an awkward arrangement changed in the second edition. (iii) Milton prefixed to the later copies the brief prefatory note on *The Verse*, explaining why he had used blank verse, and it was preceded by the address of *The Printer to the Reader*. It seems that the number of copies printed in the first edition was 1500, and the statement of another payment made by the publisher to Milton on account of the sale of the book shows that by April 26, 1669, i.e. a year and a half after the date of publication, 1300 copies had been disposed of.

¹ For example, no less than nine distinct title pages of this edition have been traced. This means that, though the whole edition was printed in 1667, only a limited number of copies were bound up and issued in that year. The rest would be kept in stock, unbound, and published in instalments, as required. Hence new matter could be inserted (such as the prose *Arguments*), and in each instalment it would be just as easy to bind up a new title page as to use the old one. Often the date had to be changed and we find that two of these pages bear the year 1667, four, 1668, and three, 1669. Seven have Milton's name in full, two, only his initials. Mr Leigh Sotheby has collated them carefully in his book on Milton's autograph, pp 81—84.

In 1674 the second edition was issued—with several changes. First, the epic was divided into twelve books, a more Vergilian number, by the sub-division¹ of books vii and x. Secondly, the prose *Arguments* were transferred from the beginning and prefixed to the respective books to which they severally belonged. Thirdly, a few changes were introduced into the text—none of any great significance, though all were for the better². This—1674—was the year of Milton's death, the corrections, doubtless, were made by him. Four years later, 1678, came the third edition, and in 1688 the fourth. This last was the well-known folio published by Tonson, *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* were bound up with some copies of it, so that Milton's three great works were obtainable in a single volume. The first annotated edition of *Paradise Lost* was that edited by Patrick Hume in 1695, being the sixth reprint. And during the last century editions were very numerous.

*The second
edition*

*Later edi-
tions*

There is, indeed, little ground for the view which one so frequently comes across—that *Paradise Lost* met with scant appreciation, and that Milton was neglected by his contemporaries, and without honour in his lifetime. To the general public epic poetry will never appeal, more especially if it be steeped in the classical feeling that pervades *Paradise Lost*, but there must have been a goodly number of scholars and lettered readers to welcome the work—else why these successive editions, appearing at no very lengthy intervals? One thing, doubtless, which prejudiced its popularity was the personal resentment of the Royalist classes at Milton's political actions. They could not forget his long identification with republicanism, and there was much in the poem itself—covert sneers and gibes—which would

*Was Milton
appreciated by
his contempo-
raries?*

¹ See note on XII 1—5

² For examples occurring in the books contained in this volume, see XI 380, 485—7, 551—2, 651, 870, XII 191. It was to this second edition that the commendatory verses—the English set by the poet Andrew Marvell—were prefixed.

repel many who were loyal to the Church and the Court. Further, the style of *Paradise Lost* was something very different from the prevailing tone of the literature then current and popular. Milton was the last of the Elizabethans, a lonely survival lingering on into days when French influence was beginning to dominate English taste. Even the metre of his poem must have sounded strange to ears familiarised to the crisp clearness and epigrammatic ring of the rhymed couplet. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, many whose praise was worth the having were proud of Milton. They felt that he had done honour to his country. He was accorded that which he had sought so earnestly—acceptance as a great national poet, and it is pleasant to read¹ how men of letters and social distinction would pay visits of respect to him, and how the white-winged Fame bore his name and reputation abroad, so that foreigners came to England for the especial purpose of seeing him.

Something must be said on the subject of the metre of *Paradise Lost*, and the prefatory note, already mentioned, in which Milton estimates the comparative merits of blank verse and rhyme can not be omitted. It runs thus²

Milton's preface on the verse of "Paradise Lost"

"THE VERSE.

The measure is English heroic verse without rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin, rime being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter and lame metre, graced indeed since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to

¹ In the *Memoir* by Phillips, and in Aubrey

² Preceded by some remarks from the publisher

"*The Printer to the Reader*

Courteous Reader, there was no Argument at first intended to the book, but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, I have procured it, and withal a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the poem rimes not —S. Simmons"

express more than is otherwise, and for the most part worse, than if they could have expressed the same. Not without cause therefore the best Italian and Spanish poets of prime note have neglected more than the longer and shorter words, to have studied since the best English translators, as a thing of itself, to do the same with travel and of no true musical delight, of which they only use vulgar numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the verse came only drawn out from one verse into another, never the longer and the shorter, and the endings a fault avoided by the learned and even lost in poetry and all good oratory. This neglect then of rhyme as little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers, but it rather is to be esteemed an example set, the best in English, of ancient liberty preserved to leave poems from the troublesome and modern bondage of rhyme.

Milton's attitude towards rhyme reminds us of the condemnation placed on it by Elizabethan critics. A claim in the *S.A. to the Nation* (1570) sneers at "our ^{The use of} side by side rhyme", brought first into Italy by Greek and Roman, when all good verses and all good learning to were destroyed by them, and at last recovered into England by men of excellent wit and indeed, but of small learning, and lesse judgement in that behalf." "Barbarous" is his darling epithet for rhyme verse. Pateham¹ is of a like mind, waving aside 'the rhyming poeie of the barbarians,' and Webbe² in his *Discourse of English Poetry* (1586) takes up the tale, ridiculing it as "barbarous verse" — "barbarous poeie" — "a great decay of the good order of verifying." Why Milton should have adopted the same position as these Elizabethan critics who approached the question in a spirit of the merest pedantry, and based their objections to rhyme solely on the fact that it was not employed by the ancients, it is not easy to say. He uses rhyme occasionally in *Sons of Adam*, in spite of his denunciation of it here, and his own early poems are sufficient refutation of the heresy that therein lies "no true musical delight."

¹ *Art of English Poet.*, in Hulsewood, I pp 7-9

² Hulsewood, II 45

There is a polemical tone in his remarks, as though he were replying to some unnamed antagonist, and I cannot help thinking that this preface was meant to be his contribution to the controversy then raging over the comparative advantages of rhymed and unrhymed metres on the stage. In fact, significant in itself, Milton's opinion becomes doubly so if regarded from the standpoint of his contemporaries. Hardly could they fail to see in it a retort to what Dryden had written in the behalf of rhyme—notably in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1665), in which the rhymed couplet had been set forth as the best vehicle of dramatic expression. In play after play Dryden had put his theory into practice: others had followed his example to rhyme or not to rhyme—that had become the great question, and here was Milton brushing the matter on one side as of no moment, with the autocratic dictum that rhyme was a vain and fond thing with which a "sage and serious" poet need have no commerce. His readers must have detected the contemporary application of his words—just as later on they must have interpreted his preface to *Samson Agonistes*, with its pointed eulogy of the Greek stage and its depreciation of Restoration tragedy (and "other common interludes"), as a counterblast to the comparison which Dryden had drawn between the modern and the classical drama, in the interests of the former.

However, be this correct or not, and superfluous as it may seem to us that Milton should justify his adoption of blank verse—wherein his surpassing skill is the best of all justifications—we have cause to be grateful to the "stumblings" of the unlettered which led him to write this preface, since it happily defines the qualities for which the metre of *Paradise Lost* is remarkable.

The distinguishing characteristic of Milton's blank verse is his use of what Mr Saintsbury¹ calls the verse-paragraph. Blank verse is exposed to two dangers: it may be formal and stiff by being circumscribed to single lines or couplets, or diffuse

The "paragraph" in Milton's blank verse

¹ *Elizabethan Literature*, p. 327

and formless through the sense and rhythm being carried on beyond the couplet. In its earlier stages the metre suffered from the former tendency. It either closed with a strong pause at the end of every line, or just struggled to the climax of the couplet¹. Further it never extended until Marlowe took the "drumming decasyllabon" into his hands, broke up the fetters of the couplet-form, and by the process of overflow carried on the rhythm from verse to verse according as the sense required. It is in his plays that we first get verse in which variety of cadence and pause and beat takes the place of rhyme. Milton entered on the heritage that Marlowe and Shakespeare bequeathed, and brought blank verse to its highest pitch of perfection as an instrument of narration.

Briefly, that perfection lies herein: if we examine a page of *Paradise Lost* we find that what the poet has to say is, for the most part, conveyed, not in single lines, nor in rigid couplets—but in flexible combinations of verses, which wait upon his meaning, not twisting or constraining the sense, but suffering it to be "variously drawn out," so that the thought is merged in its expression.

And these combinations, or paragraphs, are informed by a perfect internal concord and rhythm—held together by a chain of harmony. With a writer less sensitive to sound this free method of versifying would result in mere chaos. But Milton's ear is so delicate, that he steers unfaltering through the long, involved passages, distributing the pauses and rests with a cunning which knits the paragraph into a coherent, regulated whole. He combines, in fact, the two essential qualities of blank verse—freedom and form: the freedom that admits variety of effect, without which a long narrative becomes intolerably monotonous, and the form which saves an unrhymed measure from drifting into that which is nearer to bad prose than to good verse.

*Rhythm and
balance of his
paragraphs*

Analysis of the metrical principles on which his lines are based is a thorny matter, but without attempting to go fully into a

¹ Cf. the passage from *Gorboduc*, quoted later on

subject whereon critics of equal competence hold precisely opposite opinions, we may note a few points, to remember which is to have a key to some of the apparent difficulties of his scansion. First, be it recollected that the quantitative system of metre with which the works of Greek and Latin poets familiarise us does not apply in English. The metrical effects of English verse rest on the principle of accent, and it is convenient to regard an accented or stressed syllable as long—an unaccented or unstressed syllable as short. Secondly, the

*The iambic
basis of blank
verse*

typical blank verse is a line of five iambic feet that is, of ten syllables, with five accents or stresses falling on the even numbers, i.e. on syllables 2, 4, 6, 8, 10. These are typical examples

“Here Love his golden shafts employs, here lights
His constant lamp, and wáves his purple wings¹”

In its early days, as understood and practised by some pre-Shakespearian writers, blank verse conformed rigidly to this type. “Surely,” complained Gascoigne² in 1575, “I can lament that wee are fallen into suche a playne and simple manner of wryting, that there is none other foote used but one. But since it is so [let] all the wordes in your verse be so placed as the first sillable may sound short or be depressed, the second long or eleuate, the third shorte, the fourth long, the fifth shorte, etc.”

That this was the accepted notion of blank verse may be seen from an extract from the piece which enjoys the honour of being the first specimen of English classical tragedy,—*Gorboduc* (1561)

“Why should I live and linger forth my time,
In longer life to double my distress?
O me most woeful wight¹ whom no mishap
Long ere this day could have bereaved hence

¹ *P. L.* iv 763, 764.

² *Certaine Notes of Instruction in English Verse*, 1575 (Arber's ed. p. 34)

Might not these hands by fortune or by fate
Have pierced this breast, and life with iron rest?"

And so on, through scene after scene.

No one who recalls the history of blank verse will be surprised that it should have been of this strict iambic type. The impulse to abandon rhyme and to substitute a blank or unrhymed measure was a phase of the classicism fostered by the Renaissance.

The use of unrhymed metre due to classical influence

The standard to which critics appealed then at every turn was the practice of the Greeks and Romans, and it was under this classical tyranny that certain critics and scholar-poets surrendered the native principle of rhyme, and evolved a monotonous iambic line—the "pure iambic" as Campion calls it—which was considered to be a good substitute for the Greek *senarius*. True, the Greek *senarius* was a foot longer, and admitted other feet than the iambus, but the Elizabethan critics deemed that their decasyllabic line, with its five unvarying accents, was a very tolerable equivalent for the metre of Sophocles and Euripides. South Ascham in the *Schoolmaster* (1570), "I am sure, our English tong will receiue *carmen Iambicum* as naturallie, as either *Greeke* or *Latin*" So thought others and for a brief while *carmen iambicum* had much vogue. But public taste soon rebelled against this single-foot measure, and then there came into being the "licentiate iambic"² that is, a measure in which the iambic predominated, but which permitted the presence of other feet—notably the trochee. In the hands of the dramatists—to Marlowe be the chief honour given—this "licentiate iambic" developed into blank verse.

Now that Milton's blank verse is "licentiate"—in that it admits *dissyllabic* feet which are not iambi—few critics, I opine, would dispute. Let us glance at these *dissyllabic*, non-iambic, feet.

Dissyllabic variations from the iambic type in Milton

A dissyllabic foot may be of four kinds an

¹ Videna's speech at the beginning of Act IV—one of the most vigorous in the play

² The phrase is Thomas Campion's (*Art of English Poesie*, 1602—see Haslewood, II 168)

INTRODUCTION

iambus=a short syllable followed by a long, a trochee=long followed by short, a spondee=two longs, a pyrrhic=two shorts. Examples of the use of each are not far to seek. Here are lines with indisputable trochees in the italicised parts

His use of Trochees

"Rise out | of chaos or if Sion hill¹ "

"In the | visions | of God It was a hill² "

"On a sunbeam | swift as | a shooting star³ "

"Instruct me for thou know'st, | *thou from* | the first⁴ "

"Which of us who beholds the bright | *surface*⁵ "

It will be seen that a trochee is admitted in any foot of the verse, but it is most common in the first, giving the line a vigorous impetus, less common in the third and fourth places, rare in the second, and very rare in the fifth⁶. Sometimes we have two trochees in the same line—these being examples

"*ini|versal* | reproach, far worse to bear⁷ "

"*ini|versal|ly* adorned with highest praises⁸ "

Of Spondees

Here, again, are instances of a spondaic rhythm⁹.
"Wide-wa|ving, all approach far off to fright¹⁰ "

"Hall S|on | of the | *M|ost High* |, heir of both worlds¹¹ "

¹ P L I I O

⁴ I 19

² XI 377

⁵ VI 472

³ IV 556

⁶ My authority is Mr Bridges. He treats these trochaic feet as "in-versions of rhythm," but as they are really trochees, it seems simpler to call them accordingly. I believe that one of the first writers to admit the trochee into blank verse was Marlowe, he limits it to the first, third and fourth feet. In Shakespeare, as in Milton, it occurs in all five, though oftenest in the first. It generally comes after a pause or an emphasised monosyllable, and emphasises the sense of the word on which the accent is so shifted. For double trochees in Shakespeare, cf., perhaps, *Cymbeline* I 3 7, "*S|enseless | linen!* | Happier therein than I," and *Comedy of E* I 1 151, "*There|fore, | m|erchant,* | I'll limit thee this day" (See Abbott's *Shakespearean Gram* pp 328—330)

⁷ P L VI 34.

⁸ S A 175

⁹ "I perpetually find in Milton's verse a foot for which 'Spondee' is the best name, and it would be difficult to characterise many of his lines otherwise than by calling them Spondaic" (Masson)

¹⁰ XI 121

¹¹ P R IV 633

As a pyrrhic consists of two short or unaccented syllables, it is obvious that any line in which one occurs must contain less than the normal number of five accents *Of Pyrrhics*

This failure of accent is not uncommon in Shakespeare and Milton. Dr Abbott thinks that of Shakespeare's lines "rather less than one of three has the full number of five emphatic accents." I doubt whether the instances are so frequent in Milton, but they are sufficiently common to make it desirable to remember that five stresses are not essential to a blank verse—rather that for variety sake it is necessary that one or more should be occasionally remitted. The following examples show that this may occur in any¹ of the first four feet

"*Whether* upheld by strength, or chance, or fate²"

"*Productive* in herb, plant, and nobler birth³"

"Yet fell rememb'r *and* fear to transgress⁴"

"Before the heavens thou wert, *and* at the voice⁵"

In the fifth foot there must be some accent, as the last syllable derives a certain stress from the mere fact that it marks the close of the line. Sometimes there is a double failure of accent in the same verse, leaving it with only three stresses, Mr Bridges instances the line—"His *ministers* of vengeance *and* pursuit⁶" The percentage of such verses in Shakespeare is about 7

In applying this principle of the omission of the accent we must bear one thing in mind—that in the majority of cases where it happens one of the seemingly unstressed syllables is a preposition. This is so in no less than nine out of eleven examples quoted by Dr Masson as typical. Now in respect of language Milton belongs to the Elizabethan, not the Restoration, age—we must compare him with—not Dryden but—Shakespeare, and every student of Shakespeare knows—(the fact was pointed out years ago by Sidney Walker)—that prepositions

¹ They occur rarely in the first foot, most commonly in the fourth. Shakespeare too seldom leaves the first foot without an accent (Abbott, 330)

² P L I 133

³ P L III

⁴ VI 912

⁵ III 9

⁶ I 170

were, for metrical purposes, much fuller and more emphatic than they are now. Thus in the phrase "out of" the *of* often carries a distinct accent¹. Hence it is quite possible that Milton, with his leaning towards Shakespearian usage, intended *some* stress to fall on the prepositions in these feet which, if scanned according to our modern practice of giving the preposition scarcely any stress at all, would be pronounced pyrrhics. Thus in the line—"On a sunbeam, swift as a shooting star"—if Milton stressed the preposition, then the first foot is a trochee, not a pyrrhic. Again in the line—"Dovelike sat'st brooding *on* the vast abyss"—if the *on* is unstressed, the third foot is a pyrrhic (as Dr Masson takes it), and the line has only four beats, but if (as I should say) the preposition does carry a stress, then the foot becomes an iambus, and the line gets its proper complement of five beats. To recognise this method of stressing prepositions were to reduce by at least two thirds the number of lines in which the pyrrhic is commonly supposed to occur, but unfortunately in this, as in many other points of his scansion, we can never ascertain with entire certainty Milton's intention, or know how exactly he wished his lines to be read.

And this imperfect knowledge hampers us still more when we examine the so called *trisyllabic* variations in his verse. Dr Masson recognises them. Mr Bridges rejects them. It is a question of ear, of individual taste, as must always be the case where scansion depends, not on the fixed quantity of syllables, but on a thing so unfixed and undefined as accent. I confess that there are lines in *Paradise Lost* which I am unable to scan on any other understanding than that Milton did admit trisyllabic feet—dactyls, anapæsts, &c., and on the other hand, I fail to discover them in many of the places where Dr Masson traces their presence. I believe the genuinely trisyllabic element to be far less than he supposes. In a true trisyllabic foot the short or unstressed syllables must, surely, have equal force, but, so far

¹ Cf. *Romeo* iv. 1. 60, *Coriol.* i. 10. 19 (Abbott, *Grammar*, p. 337.)

as I can judge, this is not so in many of the examples cited by Dr Masson. Thus in the line—"Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait," he says that the third foot is an anapæst, if so, we must lay the same stress on the last syllable of "unwieldy" as on the first of "enormous," but to me it seems that the *y* has scarce any value at all—it is glided over so lightly by the voice as to be elided, and the foot becomes an iambus—Wallowing | unwield(y) | enór|mous &c. Or take the line—"Whom reason hath equalled, force hath made supreme" What is the first foot? An amphibrach, says Dr Masson, so that we must begin the verse—"Whóm rēasōn | hath equalled etc." But I suspect that most of us would prefer to hold with Mr Bridges that the last syllable of "reason" is elided, i.e. pronounced so very slightly that the word gets the accentual value of an emphatic monosyllable, then the first foot may be taken as an ordinary iambus. There are countless similar cases throughout the two epics and *Samson*, hence the question whether they ought to be classed as genuinely trisyllabic feet is all important. For myself, comparing them with the trisyllabic movement in verses which are professedly anapæstic or dactylic, I should say that in the majority of instances they are not, and were never intended to be regarded as, trisyllabic feet—that on the contrary the iambic type is very marked in Milton's blank verse—far more than it is in Shakespeare—and that most of the apparent variations may be made to conform to this type. At any rate many of them can be explained on certain principles not peculiar to Milton but observed by Shakespeare.

These are the two principles of *elision* and *contraction*. *Elision* comprehends not merely the cases where a vowel or syllable must be dropped altogether in pronunciation, but those numerous cases where the metre shows that a vowel or syllable possesses *something* less than its normal quantitative value, so that it is either slurred, or made almost to coalesce with a preceding or succeeding sound. Here are the commoner methods of elision, as I understand it

*Elisions in
Milton's blank
verse*

- (i) An unaccented vowel followed by an accented vowel or

diphthong may be elided—in poetry as in colloquial speech, this applies to substantival endings such as *ion*—cf *visitation*, and *ience*, cf *patience*, to adjectival endings such as *ial*, cf *ambrosial*, and *iant*, cf *radiant*, and *ious*, cf *tedious*, and *cous*, cf *bounteous*. Such elisions belong to the currency of everyday speech, and scarce need comment. They are, obviously, very numerous

(ii) "Syllables," says Dr Abbott¹, "ending in vowels are frequently elided before vowels in reading, though not in writing" This applies largely to monosyllables—prepositions, pronouns, adverbs, and, in particular, the definite article. It explains the scansion of lines like

"To sound at general doom The² angelic blast "

"Who highly thus to entitle me vouchsafst "

"Thou lead'st me, and to the hand of Heaven submit "

(iii) An unaccented vowel or syllable following an accented vowel or diphthong may be elided³ this applies to words like *power*, *flower*—*piety*, *fiery*—and participles such as *seeing*, *being*, *flying*. It clears up the scansion in such verses as

"Is pie|ty thus | and pure devotion paid "

"Then through | the fie|ry pillar and the cloud "

"Half fly|ng |, behoves | him now both oar and sail "

"He ceased, and the Arch|angel|ic power prepared "

(iv) The elision of an unaccented vowel followed by pure *r* is common in Shakespeare⁴ and Milton, the combination *er*⁵ is

¹ *Grammar*, p. 344

² The elision in these cases is indicated by the autograph manuscripts of Milton's poems, thus in the *Lycidas* MS line 33 reads—"Temper'd to th' oaten flute." If Milton elided the in *Lycidas*, why not in *P L*?

³ Abbott, *Grammar*, p. 355

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 351, 352

⁵ Cf again the *Lycidas* MS where we have such elided forms as *watvie*=*watery*, l. 12, *westring*=*westering*, l. 31, and *wandring* in the *Comus* MS, l. 39, and *towred* in the *Arcades* MS, l. 21. With these examples before us it is easy to see how Milton scanned, say, *P L* xi 779, "*Wandering that watery desert, I had hope*"

most affected thus, especially in participles, e.g. glistening, suffering, differing. So in reverence, feverous, temperance, and in the combination *or*, cf. pastoral, amorous, and in *ur*, cf. unnatural, disfiguring. Shakespeare and Milton extend the practice to double vowels, as in conqueror (cf. *Julius Caesar* V 5 55) and neighbouring (cf. *1 Hen IV* III 1 90). The number of words which come under this system is great.

(v) Mr Bridges notes that a similar elision occurs when an unaccented vowel is followed by pure *l*—as in popular, populous—or even by *ll*,

(vi) and also before *n*—especially with adjectives like luminous, ominous, and participles like reasoning, loosening (cf. *P L* VI 643), enlightening¹. The abbreviation of participles thus has become almost the current rule.

Contraction plays a great part in Milton's scansion. Four contractions of the inflections of verbs are specially noticeable and important, these being —(i) the 'st ^{Contractions} of the 2nd person singular, indicative present, (ii) the 'd of the perfect, (iii) the 'd of the past participle, (iv) and the 'n of the past participle in *fall'n*=*fallen*², *giv'n*=*given* etc. Any one who has studied the MSS of Milton's poems will have observed how careful he is to omit the vowel where the scansion requires the contracted form. Thus, to take the first of these contractions, in the autograph (among the Trinity papers) of the *Sonnet* addressed to Henry Lawes, we find such examples as "Thou honour'st vers," "to honour thee that tun'st thir happiest lines," and instances might be multiplied. Indeed, Milton sometimes uses the contracted form when the effect seems distinctly awkward. Again, on the first page of the *Lycidas* MS we meet with participial abbreviations like *forc't* (l. 4), *destin'd* (l. 20), *nur'st* (l. 23), *stoopt* (l. 31), and perfects like *danc't* (l. 34), *lov'd* (l. 36), *clos'd* (l. 51). Even in prose Milton appears to have employed

¹ Cf. *battning*=*battening*, *Lycidas* MS, l. 29.

² Spelt *falu* in one of the *prose* sketches (*Isaac redeemed*) among the Trinity MSS. So in the second line of the second *Sonnet* the MS has *stolne*=*stolen*.

the abbreviated no less readily than the full forms—as reference to the draft of *Adam unparadis'd* will show

That these methods—perfectly regular methods—of contraction affect the scansion of an enormous number of lines, each can verify for himself

There are some miscellaneous abbreviations which it is convenient to remember because of the frequency with which they—at least, some of them—occur. The most do not come under any particular rule of elision or contraction. *Spirit*, for example, is often monosyllabic in Shakespeare and Milton, we may compare the duplicate form *sprite*, perhaps the rule of the unaccented vowel followed by pure *r* applies here. *Heaven*, again, is often a monosyllable, even in prose Milton writes it *heavn*¹. Similarly *seven*², *seventh*, *seventy*³ are shortened. *Perilous* may scan as a dissyllable, the *z* being slurred⁴, cf the colloquial form *parlous*. Conventional contractions like *e'er*=*ever*, *o'er*=*over*, require no comment, though we may note how Milton writes the latter *ore*, that there may be no mistake about its abbreviation. *Whether* is sometimes equivalent to a monosyllable, but as it was often spelt *wh'er* or *where* in Elizabethan English⁵, the shortening for metrical convenience is intelligible enough, there was probably some pronunciation of the word now lost.

On the whole, I must repeat that, so far as I can see, the iambic rhythm is the foundation of Milton's blank verse, that by the application of one or other of the principles of elision and contraction which have been enumerated many of the apparent variations—dissyllabic and trisyllabic—may be made to harmonise with this iambic basis, and that the really trisyllabic element is inconsiderable

¹ Cf the draft of *Adam unparadis'd*, line 3

² Cf vii 158

³ Cf vii 345

⁴ An illustration of Dr Abbott's statement that "*r* frequently softens or destroys a following vowel (the vowel being nearly lost in the burr which follows the effort to pronounce the *r*)," *Grammar*, p 345

⁵ Abbott, p 347

One peculiarity of the metre of *Paradise Lost*, pointed out by Coleridge, is the rarity of verses with an extra syllable (or two extra syllables) at the close. *1 verses with an extra syllable* Shakespeare uses them freely—especially in his later plays, and the percentage of them in *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes* is high. But in *Paradise Lost* Milton avoids them. There are several varieties of this extra-syllable verse¹—e.g. lines where (i) the supernumerary syllable comes at the close; (ii) where it comes in the course of the line, particularly after the second foot, (iii) where there are two extra syllables at the end, as in the line, "Like one | that means | his pro|per harm | in máí *aces*" (*Coriolanus* 1.9.57), and (iv) where there are two extra syllables in the middle, as in *Coriolanus*, 1.1.230, "Our musty su | perslurty | See our | best elders" In *Comus* there are examples of all four varieties in *Paradise Lost* of only two²—(i) and (iii). This is a fresh illustration of what we have just seen—that the metre of the epic is mainly iambic, and consequently decasyllabic in character. Such verse has a slower, statelier movement, and is therefore appropriate to a narrative poem that deals with the loftiest themes in an elevated, solemn style. Verse, on the other hand, that admits the supernumerary syllable at the close of the line tends towards a rapidity of rhythm which makes it suitable for the purposes of the dramatist. It is typical of Milton's "inevitable," almost infallible, art that he should vary his style according to the several characteristics and requirements of the drama and of epic narration.

As he lays such stress upon the internal economy and balance of his verse-paragraphs, much must depend on the pause or rest which in English *The pause or caesura* prosody answers, to some extent, to the classical

¹ See Abbott, pp. 331, 338, 397.

² Cf. xi. 359, "Expect to hear, supernal grace contending" In most of the cases of *one* extra syllable it is a present participle that is affected. I believe that the cases with *two* such syllables are—in Milton—confined to words like *society*, cf. *P. R.* 1.302, "Such solitude before choicest society."

cæsura Dr Masson notes that Milton's favourite pause is at the end of the third foot These are typical specimens

"I, at first, with two fair gifts
Created him endowed | —with happiness
And immortality, | that fondly lost,
This other served but to eternize woe,
Till I provided death | so death becomes
His final remedy " |

Next in frequency comes the pause after the second foot, as thus

"ere fallen
From innocence " |
"his days,
Numbered, though sad " |
"Made one with me, | as I with thee am one "

Scarcely need we say that in this, as in everything else, Milton never forgets that variety of effect is essential.

It remains to note two remarks made by Milton in his preface on *The Verse* One of the elements, he says, of "true musical delight" is "fit quantity of syllables" By this, I think, he meant that every word should bear its *natural* accent, i.e. that a word should not be forced by the exigence of the metre to bear an accent alien to it Rather, a poet should be careful to "span with just note and accent¹," so that each stress should fall naturally, and the "fit quantity" of the component parts of a line not be violated Considering the length of *Paradise Lost*, it is marvellous how he maintains an unfaltering appropriateness of accent Again, another element of the pleasure offered by poetry lies in "apt numbers" Here he referred to that adaptation of rhythm to subject whereby the sound becomes an echo to the sense. No one has understood the art of blending the thought with its expression better than Milton "What other poets effect," says Dr Guest, "as it were by chance, Milton achieved by the aid of science and art, he studied the aptness of his numbers, and diligently tutored an ear which nature had

*Accent and
rhythm in
Milton*

¹ *Sonnet* to Henry Lawes

gifted with the most delicate sensibility In the flow of his rhythm, in the quality of his letter-sounds, in the disposition of his pauses, his verse almost ever fits the subject, and so insensibly does poetry blend with this—the last beauty of exquisite versification—that the reader may sometimes doubt whether it be the thought itself, or merely the happiness of its expression, which is the source of a gratification so deeply felt¹”

There has been much discussion about the “sources” of *Paradise Lost*, and writers well nigh as countless as Vallombrosa’s autumn leaves have been thrust forth from their obscurity to claim the honour of having “inspired” (as the phrase is) the great epic Most of these unconscious claimants were, like enough, unknown to Milton, and out of the motley, many-tongued throng Mr Mark Pattison thinks it worth while—perhaps as a concession to tradition—to mention but three

First comes the Italian poet Giovanni Battista Andreini Voltaire, in an essay on epic poetry written in 1727, related that Milton, during his residence at Florence in 1638—9, saw “a comedy called *Adamo*” The subject of the play was the Fall of Man the actors, the Devils², the Angels³, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, Death, and the Seven Mortal Sins Milton pierced through the absurdity of that performance to the hidden majesty of the subject, which, being altogether unfit for the stage, yet might be, for the genius of Milton, and his only, the foundation of an epick poem” What authority he had for this legend Voltaire does not say It is not alluded to by any of Milton’s contemporary biographers It may have been a mere invention by some ill-wisher of the poet, a piece of malicious gossip circulated out of political spite against the great champion of republicanism But it has given rise to various conjectures as that Milton may have met

*The supposed
“sources” of
Paradise Lost*

*Andreini’s
“Adamo”*

¹ *English Rhythms*, p 530

² i e. Lucifer, Satan, Beelzebub

³ Among them being the Archangel Michael

Andreini himself, or may have read¹ the work, if he did not actually see it represented. All of which is quite possible but then it is equally possible that none of these things happened. We have only this random remark by Voltaire, unsupported by a scrap of satisfactory external evidence, and not substantiated by any striking internal resemblance between the *Adamo* and *Paradise Lost*. Even to accept the Voltairean theory were only to admit that Andreini's play may have supplied Milton with a notion of what the subject which is common to the two poets might be made to yield. Seeing the *Adamo* represented, or reading it, Milton may have discovered and been impressed by the "hidden majesty" of the theme that is like enough only we could wish some more conclusive testimony than Voltaire's unconfirmed account that Milton did ever either see or peruse the play.

The second claimant is the Dutch poet, Joost van den Vondel. He was contemporary with Milton, and *Vondel's*
"Lucifer" the author of a great number of works. Among them were several dramas on Scriptural subjects. With three of them Milton is supposed by some writers to have been acquainted. These are *Lucifer* (1654), a drama on the revolt of the angels and their fall from heaven, *John the Messenger* (1662), and *Adam in Banishment* (1664). In a work² published a few years since it was contended that Milton borrowed a good deal from these three poems—a view from which I beg leave to dissent. It is unsupported by a shred of external testimony, and is intrinsically unlikely.

That Milton had probably heard of Vondel may be conceded. Vondel enjoyed a great reputation, beside which, there was in the 17th century much intercourse between England and Holland, and Milton from his position as Secretary, no less than from his controversies with Salmasius and Morus, must have

¹ It had been printed in 1613, and again in 1617. The title page of the first edition describes the work as "L'Adamo, Sacra Rappresentatione, da Giovanni Battista Andreini. Milano, 1613."

² I allude to Mr Edmundson's *Milton and Vondel* (1885).

had his thoughts constantly directed towards the Netherlands. Also, we learn that he had some knowledge of the Dutch language. But it will be observed that the earliest of the poems with which he is thought to have been too conversant, namely *Lucifer*, was not published till after his blindness, while by the time that the last of them, *Adam in Banishment*, appeared, *Paradise Lost* was almost completed. It is impossible that Milton read a line of the works himself if he knew them at all, it must have been through the assistance of some reader or translator, and considering how many details concerning the last years of Milton's life have survived, it is exceeding curious that this reader or translator should have escaped mention, and that the Vondelian fiction should not have been heard of till a century after the poet's death. For there were plenty of people ready to do him an ill-turn and damage his reputation, and plagiarism from his Dutch contemporary would have been an excellent cry to raise. As it is, Milton's biographers—and contemporaries—Phillips, Aubrey, Toland, Antony à Wood, are absolutely silent on the subject. Phillips indeed and Toland expressly mention the languages in which Milton used to have works read to him. The list is extensive—it includes Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish and French and it does *not* include Dutch—a most significant omission.

In default of external proof those who put forward this ignoble theory of plagiarism have recourse to the test of the parallel passage—they cite what they conceive to be similarities of thought, description and expression between Vondel's three poems and *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. This test is always unsatisfactory—even when the writers compared use the same vehicle of expression, a common language. But applied to writers separated by difference of tongue the test becomes well-nigh worthless. It will prove everything—or nothing—you have only to take passages that treat of the same subject and translate the one, as far as may be, into the actual words of the other, and the charge of plagiarism will seem proved up to the hilt. But the process does not commend itself to im-

*Were Vondel's
works known
to Milton?*

partial critics, and I think that any unbiassed reader who examines these supposed similarities between Milton and Vondel will be of opinion, that the most are merely ridiculous—no similarities at all—and that the few Vondelian passages which may be compared quite legitimately with parts of *Paradise Lost* only serve to illustrate the elementary truth that writers who handle the same themes must meet in periodic points of resemblance¹

The resemblances accidental

There remains the so called *Cædmon Paraphrase*. In the Bodleian is the manuscript of an Old English metrical *Paraphrase* of parts² of the Old Testament. This work was long attributed to the Northumbrian religious writer Cædmon, of whom Bede speaks. Cædmon lived in the seventh century. He is supposed to have died about 670. There is no reason for thinking that he was not the author of sacred poems, as Bede represents him to have been, but there is also no possibility of believing that the *Paraphrase*, as we have it, was written by him. It is a composite work in which several hands may be traced, and the different styles belong to a date long subsequent to Cædmon³. The MS. was once in the possession of Archbishop Usher. He presented it in 1651 to his secretary, the Teutonic scholar, Francis Dujon, commonly called Franciscus Junius. Junius published the MS. at Amsterdam in 1655. Milton never saw the *Paraphrase* in print, for the same reason that he never saw Vondel's *Lucifer*. But inasmuch as Junius had been settled in England since 1620, it is quite likely that he knew Milton⁴, if so, he may have

¹ This Vondel question is discussed at some detail in an essay appended to my edition of *Samson Agonistes* (Pitt Press Series), pp 158–168

² Namely *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*. It is the paraphrase of *Genesis* that would have concerned Milton most

³ See the article by Mr Henry Bradley in the *Dictionary of Biography*. There is also a good discussion of the authorship of the work in the Appendix to Professor Ten Brink's *Early English Literature*

⁴ This was first pointed out by Sharon Turner, see also Masson, *Life*, vi 557

mentioned the *Paraphrase*, and even translated parts of it. Here, however, as in the previous cases of Andreini and Vondel, we cannot get beyond conjecture, the question resolves itself perforce into the irritating 'perhaps,' 'may have,' *plus* the inevitable parallel passage. For just as one critic is ready with his "resemblances" from the *Adamo*, and another with reams of crude commonplace from *Lucifer*, so the victims of the Cædmon fallacy have their set of pet parallels betwixt the *Paraphrase* (which in its Old English dress was probably unintelligible to Milton¹) and *Paradise Lost*. And though we have mentioned but three of these supposed "sources" of *Paradise Lost*—perhaps three too many—yet there be who shall say how many other works in which "resemblances" have been detected? In fact, what it comes to is this: almost every work (no matter what the language) dealing with the same subject as *Paradise Lost* and written prior to it, has been seized on and made to serve the purposes of the traffickers in parallel passages. Dutch epics (with "the very Dutch sublimity" which Southey discovered in the *Ancient Mariner*), Latin epics and tragedies² by German and Scotch and English scholars, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese poems—all bring grist to the mill, and the outcome is a mass—gross as a mountain, open, palpable—of what Dr Masson justly terms "laborious nonsense."

Now to prove a negative is proverbially difficult, and it is beyond any man's power to demonstrate that Milton was *not* acquainted with Andreini, or *Milton no plagiarist* Vondel, or Cædmon³, or some of the other writers. He *may* have known their works: he *may* have been indebted to them for an occasional suggestion. It is an open question.

¹ In a very ingenious paper in *Anglia*, iv pp 401—405, Professor Wuelcker argues that Milton had not much knowledge of Anglo Saxon. In his *History of Britain* he habitually quotes Latin Chronicles, and in one place virtually admits that an old English chronicle was not intelligible to him.

² There was a Latin tragedy, *Adamus Exul*, by the jurist Grotius. Milton met Grotius in Paris (as he tells us in the *Defensio Secunda*), and quotes him in his prose works. I daresay that he read the tragedy.

³ I keep the name for convenience sake,

it admits of no decisive settlement one way or the other, because we have no decisive evidence—external or internal. But that Milton “plagiarised” from them, that in any of them lay the “origin” of *Paradise Lost*, that the qualities which have made the epic immortal were due, in the faintest degree, to any other genius than that of Milton himself these are fond delusions, vainly imagined, without warranty, and altogether to be cast out.

We must indeed recognise in Milton's style the impress of four great influences—these being the Bible, the classics, the Italian poets, and English literature.

The four great influences discernible in Milton

The Bible Of the Bible he possessed a knowledge such as few have had. There are hundreds of allusions to it the words of Scripture underlie some part of the text of every page of *Paradise Lost*, and apart from verbal reminiscences there is much of the spirit that pervades that noblest achievement of the English tongue.

The classics Scarcely less powerful was the influence of the classics. Milton's allusiveness extends over the whole empire of classical humanity and letters, and to the scholar his work is full of the exquisite charm of endless reference to the noblest things that the ancients have thought and said. That he was deeply versed in Italian

Italian poets poetry the labours of his early editors have abundantly proved, and their comparative studies are confirmed by the frequent mention of Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto and others in his prose works and correspondence. In

English literature English literature I imagine that he had read everything worth reading. Without doubt, he was most affected by “our admired Spenser¹” He was, says² Dryden, “the poetical son of Spenser. Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original.” And there was a Spenserian school of poets, mostly Cambridge men, and some of them contemporary

Spenser, and the Spenserian school

¹ *Animadversions*, P W III 84. On Milton's feeling for Spenser, see the detailed note to *Il Penseroso* 116—120

² *Preface to Fables*

with Milton at the University, with whose works he evidently had a considerable acquaintance. Among these the two Fletchers were conspicuous—Giles Fletcher, author of the sacred poems *Christ's Victorie on Earth* and *Christ's Triumph in Heaven*, and Phineas Fletcher, author of *The Purple Island*. The influence of the Fletchers is manifest in Milton's early poems¹, and it is traceable in *Paradise Lost*. Finally, we must not forget Sylvester. Joshua Sylvester, of whom little is known beyond that he was born in 1563, died in 1613, and diversified the profession of merchant with the ^{Sylvester's} "Du Bartas," making of much rhyme, translated into exceedingly Spenserian verse *The Divine Weeks and Works* of the French poet, Du Bartas². The subject of this very lengthy work is the story of Creation, with the early history of the Jews. The translation was amazingly popular. Dryden confessed that he had once preferred Sylvester to Spenser. There is clear proof that Milton studied Sylvester in his youth, and *The Divine Weeks* is certainly one of the works whereof account must be taken in any attempt to estimate the literary influences that moulded Milton's style.

But a writer may be influenced by others, and not "plagiarise," and it is well to remember that from Vergil downwards the great poets have exercised their royal right of adapting the words of their forerunners and infusing into them a fresh charm and suggestion, since in allusion lies one of the chief delights of literature. It is well, also, to realise wherein lies the greatness of *Paradise Lost*, and to understand that all the borrowing in the world could not contribute a jot to the qualities which have rendered the epic "a possession for ever." What has made the

What constitutes the greatness of "Paradise Lost"

¹ See the *Introduction to Comus*, p. xxxviii, and that to *Lycidas*, pp. xlv—xlvii. Besides the Fletchers, Henry More, the famous "Cambridge Platonist," might be mentioned. Milton must have known him at Christ's College.

² Sylvester translated a good deal from Du Bartas beside the *Divine Weeks*, and rhymed on his own account. Dr Grosart has collected his works into two bulky volumes.

poem live is not the story, nobly though that illustrates the eternal antagonism of righteousness and wrong, and the overthrow of evil, nor the construction, though this is sufficiently artistic, nor the learning, though this is vast, nor the characterisation, for which there is little scope not these things, though all are factors in the greatness of the poem, and in all Milton rises to the height of his argument—but the incomparable elevation of the style, “the shaping spirit of Imagination,” and the mere majesty of the music.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XI

THE ARGUMENT

The Son of God presents to his Father the prayers of our first parents now repenting, and intercedes for them. God accepts them, but declares that they must no longer abide in Paradise, sends Michael with a band of Cherubim to dispossess them, but first to reveal to Adam future things. Michael's coming down. Adam shows to Eve certain ominous signs, he discerns Michael's approach, goes out to meet him, the Angel denounces their departure. Eve's lamentation. Adam pleads, but submits. the Angel leads him up to a high hill, sets before him in vision what shall happen till the Flood.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XI

THUS they, in lowliest plight, repentant stood
Praying, for from the mercy-seat above
Prevenient grace descending had removed *-helping*
The stony from their hearts, and made new flesh
Regenerate grow instead, that sighs now breathed
Unutterable, which the Spirit of prayer
Inspired, and winged for Heaven with speedier flight
Than loudest oratory Yet their port
Not of mean suitors, nor important less
Seemed their petition than when the ancient pair 10
In fables old, less ancient yet than these,
Deucalion and chaste Pyrrha, to restore
The race of mankind drowned, before the shrine
Of Themis stood devout To Heaven their prayers
Flew up, nor missed the way, by envious winds
Blown vagabond or frustrate in they passed
Dimensionless through heavenly doors, then, clad
With incense, where the golden altar fumed,
By their great Intercessor, came in sight
Before the Father's throne. Them the glad Son 20
Presenting thus to intercede began

"See, Father, what first-fruits on Earth are sprung

From thy implanted grace in Man—these sighs
 And prayers, which in this golden censer, mixed
 With incense, I, thy priest, before thee bring,
 Fruits of more pleasing savour, from thy seed
 Sown with contrition in his heart, than those
 Which, his own hand manuring, all the trees ^c
 Of Paradise could have produced, ere fallen
 From innocence Now, therefore, bend thine ^e
 To supplication, hear his sighs, though mute
 Unskilful with what words to pray, let me
 Interpret for him, me his advocate
 And propitiation, all his works on me,
 Good or not good, ingraft, my merit those
 Shall perfect, and for these my death shall pay
 Accept me, and in me from these receive
 The smell of peace toward Mankind let him live
 Before thee reconciled, at least his days
 Numbered, though sad, till death, his doom (which I 40
 To mitigate thus plead, not to reverse),
 To better life shall yield him, where with me
 All my redeemed may dwell in joy and bliss,
 Made one with me, as I with thee am one”

To whom the Father, without cloud, serene
 “All thy request for Man, accepted Son,
 Obtain, all thy request was my decree.
 But longer in that Paradise to dwell
 The law I gave to Nature him forbids,
 Those pure immortal elements, that know
 No gross, no unharmonious mixture foul,
 Eject him, tainted now, and purge him off,
 As a distemper, gross, to air as gross,
 And mortal food, as may dispose him best
 For dissolution wrought by sin, that first

Distempered all things, and of incorrupt
 Corrupted I, at first, with two fair gifts
 Created him endowed—with happiness
 And immortality; that fondly lost,
 This other served but to eternize woe, 60
 Till I provided death so death becomes
 His final remedy, and, after life
 Tried in sharp tribulation, and refined
 By faith and faithful works, to second life,
 Waked in the renovation of the just,
 Resigns him up with Heaven and Earth renewed
 But let us call to Synod all the Blest
 Through Heaven's wide bounds, from them I will not hide
 My judgments, how with Mankind I proceed,
 As how with peccant Angels late they saw, 70
 And in their state, though firm, stood more confirmed "

He ended, and the Son gave signal high
 To the bright minister that watched He blew
 His trumpet, heard in ^{the} Orb since perhaps ~~far~~
 When God descended, and perhaps once more
 To sound at general doom The angelic blast
 Filled all the regions from their blissful bowers
 Of amarantine shade, fountain or spring,
 By the waters of life, where'er they sat ~~by the~~
 In fellowships of joy, the Sons of Light
 Hasted, resorting to the summons high,
 And took their seats, till from his throne supreme
 The Almighty thus pronounced his sovran will

"O Sons, like one of us Man is become
 To know both good and evil, since his taste
 Of that defended fruit, but let him boast ~~forbidden~~
 His knowledge of good lost and evil got,
 Happier had it sufficed him to have known

Good by itself, and evil not at all
He sorrows now, repents, and prays contrite— 90
My motions in him, longer than they move,
His heart I know how variable and vain,
Self-left. Lest, therefore, his now bolder hand
Reach also of the Tree of Life, and eat,
And live for ever—dream at least to live
For ever—to remove him I decree,
And send him from the garden forth, to till
The ground whence he was taken, fitter soil
Michael, this my behest have thou in charge 100
Take to thee from among the Cherubim
Thy choice of flaming warriors, lest the Fiend,
Or in behalf of Man, or to invade
Vacant possession, some new trouble raise,
Haste thee, and from the Paradise of God
Without remorse drive out the sinful pair,
From hallowed ground the unholy, and denounce
To them, and to their progeny, from thence
Perpetual banishment. Yet, lest they faint
At the sad sentence rigorously urged
(For I behold them softened, and with tears 110
Bewailing their excess), all terror hide
If patiently thy bidding they obey,
Dismiss them not disconsolate, reveal
To Adam what shall come in future days,
As I shall thee enlighten, intermix
My covenant in the Woman's seed renewed
So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace,
And on the east side of the garden place,
Where entrance up from Eden easiest climbs,
Cherubic watch, and of a sword the flame 120
Wide-waving, all approach far off to fright,

And guard all passage to the Tree of Life,
 Lest Paradise a receptacle prove
 To Spirits foul, and all my trees their prey,
 With whose stolen fruit Man once more to delude "

He ceased, and the archangelic Power prepared
 For swift descent, with him the cohort bright
 Of watchful Cherubim Four faces each
 Had, like a double Janus, all their shape
 Spangled with eyes more numerous than those 130
 Of Argus, and more wakeful than to drowse,
 Charmed with Arcadian pipe, the pastoral reed
 Of Hermes, or his opiate rod Meanwhile,
 To resalute the world with sacred light,
 Leucothea waked, and with fresh dews embalmed
 The Earth, when Adam and first matron Eve
 Had ended now their orisons, and found
 Strength added from above, new hope to spring
 Out of despair, joy, but with fear yet linked,
 Which thus to Eve his welcome words renewed 140

"Eve, easily may faith admit that all
 The good which we enjoy from Heaven descends,
 But that from us aught should ascend to Heaven
 So prevalent as to concern the mind
 Of God high blest, or to incline his will,
 Hard to belief may seem, yet this will prayer,
 Or one short sigh of human breath, upborne
 Even to the seat of God For, since I sought
 By prayer the offended Deity to appease,
 Kneeled and before him humbled all my heart, 150
 Methought I saw him placable and mild,
 Bending his ear, persuasion in me grew
 That I was heard with favour, peace returned
 Home to my breast, and to my memory

His promise that thy seed shall bruise our Foe,
 Which, then not minded in dismay, yet now
 Assures me that the bitterness of death
 Is past, and we shall live. Whence hail to thee!
 Eve rightly called, Mother of all Mankind,
 Mother of all things living, since by thee 160
 Man is to live, and all things live for Man”

To whom thus Eve with sad demeanour meek.
 “Ill-worthy I such title should belong
 To me transgressor, who, for thee ordained
 A help, became thy snare, to me reproach
 Rather belongs, distrust and all dispraise
 But infinite in pardon was my Judge,
 That I, who first brought death on all, am graced
 The source of life, next favourable thou,
 Who highly thus to entitle me vouchsaf’st, 170
 Far other name deserving But the field
 To labour calls us, now with sweat imposed,
 Though after sleepless night, for see! the Morn,
 All unconcerned with our unrest, begins
 Her rosy progress smiling Let us forth,
 I never from thy side henceforth to stray,
 Where’er our day’s work lies, though now enjoined
 Laborious, till day droop, while here we dwell,
 What can be toilsome in these pleasant walks?
 Here let us live, though in fallen state, content” 180

So spake, so wished, much-humbled Eve, but Fate
 Subscribed not Nature first gave signs, impressed
 On bird, beast, air—air suddenly eclipsed,
 After short blush of morn. Nigh in her sight
 The bird of Jove, stooped from his aery tour,
 Two birds of gayest plume before him drove,
 Down from a hill the beast that reigns in woods,

First hunter then, pursued a gentle brace,
Goodliest of all the forest, hart and hind,
Direct to the eastern gate was bent their flight. 190
Adam observed, and, with his eye the chase
Pursuing, not unmoved to Eve thus spake

“O Eve, some further change awaits us nigh,
Which Heaven by these mute signs in Nature shows,
Forerunners of his purpose, or to warn
Us, haply too secure of our discharge
From penalty because from death released
Some days, how long, and what till then our life,
Who knows? or more than this, that we are dust,
And thither must return, and be no more? 200
Why else this double object in our sight,
Of flight pursued in the air and o’er the ground
One way the self-same hour? Why in the east
Darkness ere day’s mid-course, and morning-light
More orient in yon western cloud, that draws
O’er the blue firmament a radiant white,
And slow descends, with something Heavenly fraught?”

He erred not, for, by this, the Heavenly bands
Down from a sky of jasper lighted now 210
In Paradise, and on a hill made halt,
A glorious apparition, had not doubt
And carnal fear that day dimmed Adam’s eye
Not that more glorious, when the Angels met
Jacob in Mahanaim, where he saw
The field pavilioned with his guardians bright,
Nor that which on the flaming mount appeared
In Dothan, covered with a camp of fire,
Against the Syrian king, who to surprise
One man, assassin-like, had levied war,
War unproclaimed The princely Hierarch 220

In their bright stand there left his Powers to seize
 Possession of the garden, he alone,
 To find where Adam sheltered, took his way,
 Not unperceived of Adam, who to Eve,
 While the great visitant approached, thus spake

"Eve, now expect great tidings, which perhaps
 Of us will soon determine, or impose *to be met, not on our*
 New laws to be observed, for I descry,
 From yonder blazing cloud that veils the hill,
 One of the Heavenly host, and, by his gait, 230
 None of the meanest—some great Potentate
 Or of the Thrones above, such majesty
 Invests him coming, yet not terrible,
 That I should fear, nor sociably mild,
 As Raphael, that I should much confide,
 But solemn and sublime, whom, not to offend,
 With reverence I must meet, and thou retire."

He ended, and the Archangel soon drew nigh,
 Not in his shape celestial, but as man
 Clad to meet man Over his lucid arms 240
 A military vest of purple flowed,
 Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
 Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old
 In time of truce, Iris had dipt the woof
 His starry helm unbuckled showed him prime
 In manhood where youth ended, by his side,
 As in a glistening zodiac, hung the sword,
 Satan's dire dread, and in his hand the spear
 Adam bowed low, he, kingly, from his state
 Inclined not, but his coming thus declared 250

"Adam, Heaven's high behest no preface needs
 Sufficient that thy prayers are heard, and Death,
 Then due by sentence when thou didst transgress,

Defeated of his seizure many days,
 Given thee of grace, wherein thou may'st repent,
 And one bad act with many deeds well done
 May'st cover Well may then thy Lord, appeased,
 Redeem thee quite from Death's rapacious claim,
 But longer in this Paradise to dwell

Permits not to remove thee I am come, 260
 And send thee from the garden forth, to till
 The ground whence thou wast taken, fitter soil"

He added not, for Adam at the news
 Heart-strook with chilling gripe of sorrow stood,
 That all his senses bound, Eve, who unseen
 Yet all had heard, with audible lament
 Discovered soon the place of her retire

"O unexpected stroke, worse than of Death!
 Must I thus leave thee, Paradise? thus leave
 Thee, native soil? these happy walks and shades, 270
 Fit haunt of Gods? where I had hope to spend,
 Quiet, though sad, the respite of that day
 That must be mortal to us both O flowers,
 That never will in other climate grow,

My early visitation, and my last
 At even, which I bred up with tender hand
 From the first opening bud, and gave ye names,
 Who now shall rear ye to the sun, or rank *out-*
 Your tribes, and water from the ambrosial fount?
 Thee, lastly, nuptial bower, by me adorned 280
 With what to sight or smell was sweet, from thee
 How shall I part, and whither wander down
 Into a lower world, to this obscure
 And wild? How shall we breathe in other air
 Less pure, accustomed to immortal fruits?"

Whom thus the Angel interrupted mild

“Lament not, Eve, but patiently resign
What justly thou hast lost, nor set thy heart,
Thus over-fond, on that which is not thine.
Thy going is not lonely, with thee goes
Thy husband; him to follow thou art bound,
Where he abides, think there thy native soil”

290

Adam, by this from the cold sudden damp
Recovering, and his scattered spirits returned,
To Michael thus his humble words addressed

“Celestial, whether among the Thrones, or named
Of them the highest—for such of shape may seem
Prince above princes—gently hast thou told
Thy message, which might else in telling wound,
And in performing end us What besides

300

Of sorrow, and dejection, and despair,
Our frailty can sustain, thy tidings bring,
Departure from this happy place, our sweet
Recess, and only consolation left
Familiar to our eyes, all places else
Inhospitable appear, and desolate,

Nor knowing us, nor known And, if by prayer
Incessant I could hope to change the will

Of him who all things can, I would not cease
To weary him with my assiduous cries,

310

But prayer against his absolute decree
No more avails than breath against the wind,
Blown stifling back on him that breathes it forth
Therefore to his great bidding I submit.

This most afflicts me, that, departing hence,
As from his face I shall be hid, deprived
His blessed countenance. Here I could frequent,
With worship, place by place where he vouchsafed
Presence Divine, and to my sons relate,

'On this mount he appeared, under this tree
320 Stood visible, among these pines his voice
I heard, here with him at this fountain talked'
So many grateful altars I would rear
Of grassy turf, and pile up every stone
Of lustre from the brook, in memory
Or monument to ages, and thereon
Offer sweet-smelling gums, and fruits, and flowers
In yonder nether world where shall I seek
His bright appearances, or footstep trace?
For, though I fled him angry, yet, recalled
330 To life prolonged and promised race, I now
Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts
Of glory, and far off his steps adore."

To whom thus Michael, with regard benign
"Adam, thou know'st Heaven his, and all the Earth,
Not this rock only, his omnipresence fills
Land, sea, and air, and every kind that lives,
Fomented by his virtual power and warmed
All the Earth he gave thee to possess and rule,
No despicable gift, surmise not, then,
340 His presence to these narrow bounds confined
Of Paradise or Eden This had been
Perhaps thy capital seat, from whence had spread
All generations, and had hither come
From all the ends of the Earth, to celebrate
And reverence thee their great progenitor
But this pre-eminence thou hast lost, brought down
To dwell on even ground now with thy sons
Yet doubt not but in valley and in plain
God is, as here, and will be found alike
350 Present, and of his presence many a sign,
Still following thee, still compassing thee round

With goodness and paternal love, his face
Express, and of his steps the track divine
Which that thou may'st believe, and be confirmed,
Ere thou from hence depart, know I am sent
To show thee what shall come in future days
To thee and to thy offspring Good with bad
Expect to hear, supernal grace contending
With sinfulness of men, thereby to learn 360
True patience, and to temper joy with fear
And pious sorrow, equally inured
By moderation either state to bear,
Prosperous or adverse so shalt thou lead
Safest thy life, and best prepared endure
Thy mortal passage when it comes Ascend
This hill, let Eve (for I have drenched her eyes)
Here sleep below while thou to foresight wak'st,
As once thou slept'st, while she to life was formed "
To whom thus Adam gratefully replied 370
"Ascend, I follow thee, safe guide, the path
Thou lead'st me, and to the hand of Heaven submit,
However chastening, to the evil turn
My obvious breast, arming to overcome
By suffering, and earn rest from labour won,
If so I may attain " So both ascend
In the visions of God It was a hill,
Of Paradise the highest, from whose top
The hemisphere of Earth, in clearest ken,
Stretched out to the amplest reach of prospect lay 380
Not higher that hill, nor wider looking round,
Whereon for different cause the Tempter set
Our second Adam, in the wilderness,
To show him all Earth's kingdoms and their glory
His eye might there command wherever stood

City of old or modern fame, the seat
 Of mightiest empire, from the destined walls
 Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can, ^{Imperial}
 And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,
 To Paquin of Sinæan kings, and thence ^{Pekin}
 To Agra and Lahor of Great Mogul,
 Down to the golden Chersonese, or where
 The Persian in Ecbatan sat, or since ^{Moscow}
 In Hispahan, or where the Russian Ksar
 In Mosco, or the Sultan in Bizance, ^{Byzantium}
 Turchestan-born, nor could his eye not ken
 The empire of Negus to his utmost port ^{King}
 Ercoco, and the less maritime kings, ^{northern}
 Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind, ^{African}
 And Sofala, thought Ophir, to the realm ^{of the East}
 Of Congo, and Angola farthest south,
 Or thence from Niger flood to Atlas mount,
 The kingdoms of ⁽⁷⁵⁴⁻⁷⁷²⁾ ~~Almansor, Fez~~ and Sus, ^{Spain}
 Marocco, and Algiers, and Tremisen, ^{in Africa}
 On Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway
 The world In spirit perhaps he also saw
 Rich Mexico, the seat of Montezume,
 And Cusco ^{Cuzco} in Peru, the richer seat
 Of Atabalipa, and yet unspoiled
^{Guyana} ~~Guyana~~, whose ^{Indian} great city Geryon's sons ^{Spaniards}
 Call El Dorado But to nobler sights
 Michael from Adam's eyes the film removed
 Which that false fruit that promised clearer sight
 Had bred, then purged with euphrasy and rue,
 The visual nerve, for he had much to see,
 And from the well of life three drops instilled
 So deep the power of these ingredients pierced,
 Even to the inmost seat of mental sight,

That Adam, now enforced to close his eyes,
Sunk down, and all his spirits became entranced, 420
But him the gentle Angel by the hand
Soon raised, and his attention thus recalled

“Adam, now ope thine eyes, and first behold
The effects which thy original crime hath wrought
In some to spring from thee, who never touched
The excepted tree, nor with the Snake conspired,
Nor sinned thy sin, yet from that sin derive
Corruption to bring forth more violent deeds”

His eyes he opened, and beheld a field,
Part arable and tilth, whereon were sheaves 430
New-reaped, the other part sheep-walks and folds,
I' the midst an altar as the landmark stood,
Rustic, of grassy sord Thither anon
A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought
First-fruits, the green ear and the yellow sheaf,
Unculled, as came to hand, a shepherd next,
More meek, came with the firstlings of his flock,
Choicest and best, then, sacrificing, laid
The inwards and their fat, with incense strewed,
On the cleft wood, and all due rites performed 440
His offering soon propitious fire from heaven
Consumed with nimble glance and grateful steam,
The other's not, for his was not sincere
Whereat he only raged, and, as they talked,
Smote him into the midriff with a stone
That beat out life, he fell, and, deadly pale,
Groaned out his soul with gushing blood effused.
Much at that sight was Adam in his heart
Dismayed, and thus in haste to the Angel cried
“O Teacher, some great mischief hath befallen 450
To that meek man, who well had sacrificed

Is piety thus and pure devotion paid?"

To whom Michael thus, he also moved, replied
 "These two are brethren, Adam, and to come
 Out of thy loins The unjust the just hath slain,
 For envy that his brother's offering found
 From Heaven acceptance, but the bloody fact
 Will be avenged, and the other's faith approved
 Lose no reward, though here thou see him die,
 Rolling in dust and gore" To which our Sire

460

"Alas, both for the deed and for the cause!
 But have I now seen Death? Is this the way
 I must return to native dust? O sight
 Of terror, foul and ugly to behold!
 Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!"

To whom thus Michael "Death thou hast seen
 In his first shape on Man, but many shapes
 Of Death, and many are the ways that lead
 To his grim cave, all dismal, yet to sense
 More terrible at the entrance than within
 Some, as thou saw'st, by violent stroke shall die,
 By fire, flood, famine, by intemperance more
 In meats and drinks, which on the Earth shall bring
 Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew
 Before thee shall appear, that thou may'st know
 What misery the inabstinence of Eve
 Shall bring on men" Immediately a place
 Before his eyes appeared, sad, noisome, dark,
 A lazar-house it seemed, wherein were laid
 Numbers of all diseased, all maladies
 Of ghastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms
 Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
 Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
 Intestine stone and ulcer, colic pangs,

470

480

Demoniac phrenzy, moping melancholy,
And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
Marasmus, and wide-wasting pestilence,
Dropsies and asthmas, and joint-racking rheums
Dire was the tossing, deep the groans, Despair
Tended the sick, busiest from couch to couch, 490
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delayed to strike, though oft invoked
With vows, as their chief good and final hope
Sight so deform what heart of rock could long
Dry-eyed behold? Adam could not, but wept,
Though not of woman born compassion quelled
His best of man, and gave him up to tears
A space, till firmer thoughts restrained excess,
And, scarce recovering words, his plaint renewed

“O miserable Mankind, to what fall 500
Degraded, to what wretched state reserved!
Better end here unborn Why is life given
To be thus wrested from us? rather why
Obtruded on us thus? who, if we knew
What we receive, would either not accept
Life offered, or soon beg to lay it down,
Glad to be so dismissed in peace. Can thus
The image of God in Man, created once
So goodly and erect, though faulty since,
To such unsightly sufferings be debased 510
Under inhuman pains? Why should not Man,
Retaining still divine similitude
In part, from such deformities be free,
And for his Maker's image sake exempt?”

“Their Maker's image,” answered Michael, “then
Forsook them, when themselves they vilified
To serve ungoverned Appetite, and took

His image whom they served—a brutish vice,
 Inductive mainly to the sin of Eve
 Therefore so abject is their punishment,
 Disfiguring not God's likeness, but their own,
 Or, if his likeness, by themselves defaced
 While they pervert pure Nature's healthful rules
 To loathsome sickness, worthily, since they
 God's image did not reverence in themselves”

520

“I yield it just,” said Adam, “and submit
 But is there yet no other way, besides
 These painful passages, how we may come
 To death, and mix with our connatural dust?”

“There is,” said Michael, “if thou well observe 530
 The rule of *Not too much*, by temperance taught
 In what thou eat'st and drink'st, seeking from thence
 Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,
 Till many years over thy head return
 So may'st thou live, till, like ripe fruit, thou drop
 Into thy mother's lap, or be with ease
 Gathered, not harshly plucked, for death mature.
 This is old age, but then thou must outlive
 Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty, which will change
 To withered, weak, and grey, thy senses then, 540
 Obtuse, all taste of pleasure must forgo
 To what thou hast, and, for the air of youth,
 Hopeful and cheerful, in thy blood will reign
 A melancholy damp of cold and dry,
 To weigh thy spirits down, and last consume
 The balm of life.” To whom our Ancestor

“Henceforth I fly not death, nor would prolong
 Life much, bent rather how I may be quit,
 Fairest and easiest, of this cumbrous charge,
 Which I must keep till my appointed day 550

Of rendering up, and patiently attend
My dissolution" Michael replied

"Nor love thy life, nor hate, but what thou livest
Live well, how long or short, permit to Heaven
And now prepare thee for another sight"

He looked, and saw a spacious plain, whereon
Were tents of various hue, by some were herds
Of cattle grazing, others, whence the sound
Of instruments that made melodious chime
Was heard, of harp and organ, and who moved 560
Their stops and chords was seen, his volant touch
Instinct through all proportions, low and high,
Fled and pursued transverse the resonant fugue.
In other part stood one who, at the forge
Labouring, two massy clods of iron and brass
Had melted (whether found where casual fire
Had wasted woods, on mountain or in vale,
Down to the veins of Earth, thence gliding hot
To some cave's mouth, or whether washed by stream
From underground), the liquid ore he drained 570
Into fit moulds prepared, from which he formed
First his own tools, then, what might else be wrought
Fusil or graven in metal After these,
But on the hither side, a different sort
From the high neighbouring hills, which was their seat,
Down to the plain descended by their guise
Just men they seemed, and all their study bent
To worship God aright, and know his works
Not hid, nor those things last which might preserve
Freedom and peace to men They on the plain 580
Long had not walked, when from the tents behold
A bevy of fair women, richly gay
In gems and wanton dress! to the harp they sung

Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on
The men, though grave, eyed them, and let their eyes
Rove without rein, till, in the amorous net
Fast caught, they liked, and each his liking chose
And now of love they treat, till the evening-star,
Love's harbinger, appeared, then, all in heat,
They light the nuptial torch, and bid invoke 590
Hymen, then first to marriage rites invoked
With feast and music all the tents resound
Such happy interview, and fair event
Of love and youth not lost, songs, garlands, flowers,
And charming symphonies, attached the heart
Of Adam, soon inclined to admit delight,
The bent of Nature, which he thus expressed

“True opener of mine eyes, prime Angel blest,
Much better seems this vision, and more hope
Of peaceful days portends, than those two past 600
Those were of hate and death, or pain much worse,
Here Nature seems fulfilled in all her ends”

To whom thus Michael “Judge not what is best
By pleasure, though to Nature seeming meet,
Created, as thou art, to nobler end,
Holy and pure, conformity divine.

Those tents thou saw'st so pleasant were the tents
Of wickedness, wherein shall dwell his race
Who slew his brother studious they appear
Of arts that polish life, inventors rare, 610
Unmindful of their Maker, though his Spirit
Taught them, but they his gifts acknowledged none
Yet they a beauteous offspring shall beget,
For that fair female troop thou saw'st, that seemed
Of goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay,
Yet empty of all good wherein consists

Woman's domestic honour and chief praise,
 Bred only and completed to the taste
 Of lustful appetite, to sing, to dance,
 To dress, and froll the tongue, and roll the eye, 620
 To these that sober race of men, whose lives
 Religious titled them the Sons of God, ~~se~~
 Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame,
 Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles
 Of these fair atheists, and now swim in joy
 (Erelong to swim at large) and laugh, for which
 The world erelong a world of tears must weep"

To whom thus Adam, of short joy bereft
 "O pity and shame, that they who to live well
 Entered so fair should turn aside to tread 630
 Paths indirect, or in the midway funt!
 But still I see the tenor of Man's woe
 Holds on the same, from Woman to begin"

"From Man's effeminate slackness it begins,"
 Said the Angel, "who should better hold his place
 By wisdom, and superior gifts received
 But now prepare thee for another scene"

He looked, and saw wide territory spread
 Before him—towns, and rural works between,
 Cities of men with lofty gates and towers, 640
 Concourse in arms, fierce faces threatening war,
 Giants of mighty bone and bold emprise,
 Part wield their arms, part curb the foaming steed,
 Single or in array of battle ranged,
 Both horse and foot, nor idly mustering stood
 One way a band select from forage drives
 A herd of beeves, fair oxen and fair kine,
 From a fat meadow-ground, or fleecy flock,
 Ewes and their bleating lambs, over the plain,

Their booty, scarce with life the shepherds fly, 650
 But call in aid, which makes a bloody fray
 With cruel tournament the squadrons join,
 Where cattle pastured late, now scattered lies
 With carcasses and arms the ensanguined field
 Deserted Others to a city strong
 Lay siege, encamped, by battery, scale, and mine,
 Assaulting, others from the wall defend
 With dart and javelin, stones and sulphurous fire,
 On each hand slaughter and gigantic deeds
 In other part the sceptred haralds call 660
 To council in the city-gates anon
 Grey headed men and grave, with warriors mixed,
 Assemble, and harangues are heard, but soon
 In factious opposition, till at last
 Of middle age one rising, eminent
 In wise deport, spake much of right and wrong,
 Of justice, of religion, truth, and peace,
 And judgment from above him old and young
 Exploded, and had seized with violent hands,
 Had not a cloud descending snatched him thence, 670
 Unseen amid the throng So violence
 Proceeded, and oppression, and sword-law,
 Through all the plain, and refuge none was found
 Adam was all in tears, and to his guide
 Lamenting turned full sad "Oh, what are these?
 Death's ministers, not men! who thus deal death
 Inhumanly to men, and multiply
 Ten thousandfold the sin of him who slew
 His brother, for of whom such massacre
 Make they but of their brethren, men of men? 680
 But who was that just man, whom had not Heaven
 Rescued, had in his righteousness been lost?"

To whom thus Michael "These are the product
Of those ill-mated marriages thou saw'st,
Where good with bad were matched, who of themselves
Abhor to join, and, by imprudence mixed,
Produce prodigious births of body or mind
Such were these Giants, men of high renown,
For in those days might only shall be admired,
And valour and heroic virtue called, 690
To overcome in battle, and subdue
Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
Of human glory, and for glory done
Of triumph, to be styled great conquerors,
Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods—
Destroyers rightlier called, and plagues of men
Thus fame shall be achieved, renown on Earth,
And what most merits fame in silence hid
But he, the seventh from thee, whom thou beheld'st 700
The only righteous in a world perverse,
And therefore hated, therefore so beset
With foes, for daring single to be just,
And utter odious truth, that God would come
To judge them with his Saints—him the Most High,
Rapt in a balmy cloud with winged steeds,
Did, as thou saw'st, receive, to walk with God
High in salvation and the climes of bliss,
Exempt from death to show thee what reward
Awaits the good, the rest what punishment, 710
Which now direct thine eyes and soon behold"

He looked, and saw the face of things quite changed,
The brazen throat of war had ceased to roar,
All now was turned to jollity and game,
To luxury and riot, feast and dance,

Marrying or prostituting, as befell,
Rape or adultery, where passing fair
Allured them, thence from cups to civil broils
At length a reverend sire among them came,
And of their doings great dislike declared, 720
And testified against their ways he oft
Frequented their assemblies, whereso met,
Triumphs or festivals, and to them preached
Conversion and repentance, as to souls
In prison, under judgments imminent,
But all in vain Which when he saw, he ceased
Contending, and removed his tents far off,
Then, from the mountain hewing timber tall,
Began to build a vessel of huge bulk,
Measured by cubit, length, and breadth, and highth, 730
Smeared round with pitch, and in the side a door
Contrived, and of provisions laid in large
For man and beast when lo! a wonder strange!
Of every beast, and bird, and insect small,
Came sevens and pairs, and entered in, as taught
Their order, last, the sire and his three sons,
With their four wives, and God made fast the door
Meanwhile the south-wind rose, and, with black wings
Wide hovering, all the clouds together drove
From under heaven, the hills, to their supply, 740
Vapour, and exhalation dusk and moist,
Sent up amain, and now the thickened sky
Like a dark ceiling stood down rushed the rain
Impetuous, and continued till the Earth
No more was seen The floating vessel swum
Uplifted, and secure with beaked prow
Rode tilting o'er the waves, all dwellings else
Flood overwhelmed, and them with all their pomp

Deep under water rolled, sea covered sea,
 Sea without shore and in their palaces, 750
 Where luxury late reigned, sea-monsters whelped
 And stabled of mankind, so numerous late, *2/10/1*
 All left in one small bottom swum embarked
 How didst thou grieve then, Adam, to behold
 The end of all thy offspring, end so sad,
 Depopulation! Thee another flood,
 Of tears and sorrow a flood, thee also drowned,
 And sunk thee as thy sons, till, gently reared
 By the Angel, on thy feet thou stood'st at last,
 Though comfortless, as when a father mourns 760
 His children, all in view destroyed at once,
 And scarce to the Angel utter'dst thus thy plaint
 "O visions ill foreseen! Better had I
 Lived ignorant of future! so had borne
 My part of evil only, each day's lot
 Enough to bear, those now, that were dispensed
 The burden of many ages, on me light
 At once, by my foreknowledge gaining birth
 Abortive, to torment me, ere their being,
 With thought that they must be Let no man seek 770
 Henceforth to be foretold what shall befall
 Him or his children, evil he may be sure,
 Which neither his foreknowing can prevent,
 And he the future evil shall no less
 In apprehension than in substance feel
 Grievous to bear But that care now is past,
 Man is not whom to warn, those few escaped
 Famine and anguish will at last consume,
 Wandering that watery desert. I had hope,
 When violence was ceased and war on Earth, 780
 All would have then gone well, peace would have crowned

With length of happy days the race of Man,
 But I was far deceived, for now I see
 Peace to corrupt no less than war to waste
 How comes it thus? Unfold, Celestial Guide,
 And whether here the race of Man will end "

To whom thus Michael "Those, whom last thou saw'st
 In triumph and luxurious wealth, are they
 First seen in acts of prowess eminent
 And great exploits, but of true virtue void, 790
 Who, having spilt much blood, and done much waste,
 Subduing nations, and achieved thereby
 Fame in the world, high titles, and rich prey,
 Shall change their course to pleasure, ease, and sloth,
 Surfeit, and lust, till wantonness and pride
 Raise out of friendship hostile deeds in peace
 The conquered also, and enslaved by war,
 Shall, with their freedom lost, all virtue lose,
 And fear of God, from whom their piety feigned
 In sharp contest of battle found no aid 800
 Against invaders, therefore, cooled in zeal,
 Thenceforth shall practise how to live secure,
 Worldly or dissolute, on what their lords
 Shall leave them to enjoy, for the Earth shall bear
 More than enough, that temperance may be tried
 So all shall turn degenerate, all depraved,
 Justice and temperance, truth and faith, forgot,
 One man except, the only son of light
 In a dark age, against example good,
 Against allurements, custom, and a world 810
 Offended Fearless of reproach and scorn,
 Or violence, he of their wicked ways
 Shall them admonish, and before them set
 The paths of righteousness, how much more safe

And full of peace, denouncing wrath to come
 On their impenitence, and shall return
 Of them derided, but of God observed
 The one just man alive, by his command
 Shall build a wondrous ark, as thou beheld'st,
 To save himself and household from amidst
 A world devote to universal wrack.

820

No sooner he, with them of man and beast'
 Select for life, shall in the ark be lodged,
 And sheltered round, but all the cataracts *burst*
 Of Heaven-set open on the Earth shall pour
 Rain day and night, all fountains of the deep,
 Broke up, shall heave the ocean to usurp
 Beyond all bounds, till inundation rise
 Above the highest hills Then shall this Mount
 Of Paradise by might of waves be moved
 Out of his place, pushed by the horned flood, *thro'*
 With all his verdure spoiled, and trees adrift, *in*
 Down the great river to the opening Gulf,
 And there take root, an island salt and bare,
 The haunt of seals, and orcs, and sea-mews' clang
 To teach thee that God attributes to place
 No sanctity, if none be thither brought
 By men who there frequent or therein dwell.
 And now what further shall ensue behold "

He looked, and saw the ark hull on the flood,
 Which now abated, for the clouds were fled,
 Driven by a keen north-wind, that, blowing dry,
 Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decayed,
 And the clear sun on his wide watery glass
 Gazed hot, and of the fresh wave largely drew,
 As after thirst, which made their flowing shrink
 From standing lake to tripping ebb, that stole

With soft foot towards the deep, who now had stopt
 His sluices, as the heaven his windows shut.
 The ark no more now floats, but seems on ground, 850
 Fast on the top of some high mountain fixed.
 And now the tops of hills as rocks appear,
 With clamour thence the rapid currents drive
 Towards the retreating sea their furious tide.
 Forthwith from out the ark a raven flies,
 And after him, the surer messenger,
 A dove, sent forth once and again to spy
 Green tree or ground whereon his foot may light,
 The second time returning, in his bill
 An olive-leaf he brings, pacific sign 860
 Anon dry ground appears, and from his ark
 The ancient sire descends, with all his train,
 Then, with uplifted hands and eyes devout,
 Grateful to Heaven, over his head beholds
 A dewy cloud, and in the cloud a bow
 Conspicuous with three listed colours gay,
 Betokening peace from God, and covenant new
 Whereat the heart of Adam, erst so sad,
 Greatly rejoiced, and thus his joy broke forth
 "O thou, who future things canst represent 870
 As present, Heavenly Instructor, I revive
 At this last sight, assured that Man shall live,
 With all the creatures, and their seed preserve
 Far less I now lament for one whole world
 Of wicked sons destroyed, than I rejoice
 For one man found so perfect and so just,
 That God vouchsafes to raise another world
 From him, and all his anger to forget.
 But say, what mean those coloured streaks in Heaven,
 Distended as the brow of God appeased? 880

Or serve they as a flowery verge to bind
The fluid skirts of that same watery cloud,
Lest it again dissolve and shower the Earth?"

To whom the Archangel "Dextrously thou aim'st
So willingly doth God remit his ire,
Though late repenting him of Man depraved,
Grieved at his heart, when looking down he saw
The whole Earth filled with violence, and all flesh
Corrupting each their way, yet, those removed, > 890
Such grace shall one just man find in his sight,
That he relents, not to blot out mankind,
And makes a covenant never to destroy
The Earth again by flood, nor let the sea
Surpass his bounds, nor rain to drown the world
With man therein or beast, but, when he brings
Over the Earth a cloud, will therein set
His triple-coloured bow, whereon to look
And call to mind his covenant. Day and night,
Seed-time and harvest, heat and hoary frost,
Shall hold their course, till fire purge all things new, 900
Both Heaven and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell."

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XII.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Angel Michael continues, from the Flood, to relate what shall succeed, then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain who that Seed of the Woman shall be which was promised Adam and Eve in the Fall, his incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension, the state of the Church till his second coming. Adam, greatly satisfied and recomforted by these relations and promises, descends the hill with Michael, wakens Eve, who all this while had slept, but with gentle dreams composed to quietness of mind and submission. Michael in either hand leads them out of Paradise, the fiery sword waving behind them, and the Cherubim taking their stations to guard the place

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XII

AS one who in his journey bates at noon,
Though bent on speed, so here the Archangel paused
Betwixt the world destroyed and world restored,
If Adam aught perhaps might interpose,
Then, with transition sweet, new speech resumes

“Thus thou hast seen one world begin and end,
And Man as from a second stock proceed
Much thou hast yet to see, but I perceive
Thy mortal sight to fail, objects divine
Must needs impair and weary human sense 10
Henceforth what is to come I will relate,
Thou, therefore, give due audience, and attend

“This second source of men, while yet but few,
And while the dread of judgment past remains
Fresh in their minds, fearing the Deity,
With some regard to what is just and right
Shall lead their lives, and multiply apace,
Labouring the soil, and reaping plenteous crop,
Corn, wine, and oil, and, from the herd or flock
Oft sacrificing bullock, lamb, or kid, 20
With large wine-offerings poured, and sacred feast,
Shall spend their days in joy unblamed, and dwell
Long time in peace, by families and tribes,

Under paternal rule, till one shall rise,
Of proud, ambitious heart, who, not content
With fair equality, fraternal state,
Will arrogate dominion undeserved
Over his brethren, and quite dispossess
Concord and law of Nature from the Earth,
Hunting (and men, not beasts, shall be his game) 30
With war and hostile snare such as refuse
Subjection to his empire tyrannous
A mighty hunter thence he shall be styled
Before the Lord, as in despite of Heaven,
Or from Heaven claiming second sovranity,
And from rebellion shall derive his name,
Though of rebellion others he accuse.
He, with a crew, whom like ambition joins
With him or under him to tyrannize,
Marching from Eden towards the west, shall find 40
The plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
Boils out from under ground, the mouth of Hell
Of brick, and of that stuff, they cast to build
A city and tower, whose top may reach to Heaven,
And get themselves a name, lest, far dispersed
In foreign lands, their memory be lost,
Regardless whether good or evil fame
But God, who oft descends to visit men
Unseen, and through their habitations walks
To mark their doings, them beholding soon, 50
Comes down to see their city, ere the tower
Obstruct Heaven-towers, and in derision sets
Upon their tongues a various spirit, to rase
Quite out their native language, and, instead,
To sow a jangling noise of words unknown
Forthwith a hideous gabble rises loud

Among the builders, each to other calls,
 Not understood, till hoarse, and all in rage,
 As mocked they storm Great laughter was in Heaven,
 And looking down, to see the hubbub strange 60
 And hear the din, thus was the building left
 Ridiculous, and the work *Confusion* named "

Whereto thus Adam, fatherly displeased :

"O execrable son, so to aspire
 Above his brethren, to himself assuming
 Authority usurped, from God not given !
 He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
 Dominion absolute, that right we hold
 By his donation, but man over men
 He made not lord, such title to himself 70
 Reserving, human left from human free
 But this usurper his encroachment proud
 Stays not on Man, to God his tower intends
 Siege and defiance Wretched man ! what food
 Will he convey up thither, to sustain
 Himself and his rash army, where thin air
 Above the clouds will pine his entrails gross,
 And famish him of breath, if not of bread ?"

To whom thus Michael "Justly thou abhorr'st
 That son, who on the quiet state of men 80
 Such trouble brought, affecting to subdue
 Rational liberty, yet know withal,
 Since thy original lapse, true liberty
 Is lost, which always with right reason dwells
 Twinned, and from her hath no dividual being
 Reason in Man obscured, or not obeyed,
 Immediately inordinate desires
 And upstart passions catch the government
 From reason, and to servitude reduce

Which he will show him, and from him will raise
 A mighty nation, and upon him shower
 His benediction so, that in his seed
 All nations shall be blest. He straight obeys,
 Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes
 I see him, but thou canst not, with what faith
 He leaves his gods, his friends, and native soil,
 Ur of Chaldæa, passing now the ford
 To Haran, after him a cumbrous train
 Of herds and flocks, and numerous servitude,
 Not wandering poor, but trusting all his wealth
 With God, who called him, in a land unknown
 Canaan he now attains, I see his tents
 Pitched about Sechem, and the neighbouring plain
 Of Moreh, there, by promise, he receives
 Gift to his progeny of all that land,
 From Hamath northward to the Desert south
 (Things by their names I call, though yet unnamed), 140
 From Hermon east to the great western sea,
 Mount Hermon, yonder sea, each place behold
 In prospect, as I point them on the shore,
 Mount Carmel, here, the double-founted stream,
 Jordan, true limit eastward, but his sons
 Shall dwell to Senir, that long ridge of hills
 This ponder, that all nations of the Earth
 Shall in his seed be blessed By that seed
 Is meant thy great Deliverer, who shall bruise
 The Serpent's head, whereof to thee anon 150
 Plainlier shall be revealed This patriarch blest,
 Whom *faithful Abraham* due time shall call,
 A son, and of his son a grandchild, leaves,
 Like him in faith, in wisdom, and renown
 The grandchild, with twelve sons increased, departs

From Canaan to a land hereafter called
Egypt, divided by the river Nile,
See where it flows, disgorging at seven mouths
Into the sea To sojourn in that land
He comes, invited by a younger son 160
In time of dearth, a son whose worthy deeds
Raise him to be the second in that realm
Of Pharaoh There he dies, and leaves his race
Growing into a nation, and now grown
Suspected to a sequent king, who seeks
To stop their overgrowth, as inmate guests
Too numerous, whence of guests he makes them slaves
Inhospitably, and kills their infant males
Till, by two brethren (those two brethren call
Moses and Aaron) sent from God to claim 170
His people from enthrallment, they return,
With glory and spoil, back to their promised land
But first the lawless tyrant, who denies
To know their God, or message to regard,
Must be compelled by signs and judgments dire.
To blood unshed the rivers must be turned,
Frogs, lice, and flies must all his palace fill
With loathed intrusion, and fill all the land,
His cattle must of rot and murrain die,
Botches and blains must all his flesh emboss, 180
And all his people, thunder mixed with hail,
Hail mixed with fire, must rend the Egyptian sky,
And wheel on the earth, devouring where it rolls,
What it devours not, herb, or fruit, or grain,
A darksome cloud of locusts swarming down
Must eat, and on the ground leave nothing green,
Darkness must overshadow all his bounds,
Palpable darkness, and blot out three days,

Last, with one midnight-stroke, all the first-born
Of Egypt must lie dead. Thus with ten wounds 190
The river-dragon tamed at length submits
To let his sojourners depart, and oft
Humbles his stubborn heart, but still as ice
More hardened after thaw, till, in his rage
Pursuing whom he late dismissed, the sea
Swallows him with his host, but them lets pass,
As on dry land, between two crystal walls,
Awed by the rod of Moses so to stand
Divided, till his rescued gain their shore.
Such wondrous power God to his Saint will lend, 200
Though present in his Angel, who shall go
Before them in a cloud, and pillar of fire—
By day a cloud, by night a pillar of fire—
To guide them in their journey, and remove
Behind them, while the obdurate king pursues
All night he will pursue, but his approach
Darkness defends between till morning-watch,
Then through the fiery pillar and the cloud
God looking forth will trouble all his host,
And craze their chariot-wheels when, by command, 210
Moses once more his potent rod extends
Over the sea, the sea his rod obeys,
On their embattled ranks the waves return,
And overwhelm their war The race elect
Safe towards Canaan from the shore advance
Through the wild Desert, not the readiest way,
Lest, entering on the Canaanite alarmed,
War terrify them inexpert, and fear
Return them back to Egypt, choosing rather
Inglorious life with servitude, for life 220
To noble and ignoble is more sweet

Untrained in arms, where rashness leads not on
This also shall they gain by their delay
In the wide wilderness there they shall found
Their government, and their great Senate choose
Through the twelve tribes, to rule by laws ordained
God, from the mount of Sinai, whose grey top
Shall tremble, he descending, will himself
In thunder, lightning, and loud trumpet's sound,
Ordain them laws, part, such as appertain 230
To civil justice, part, religious rites
Of sacrifice, informing them, by types
And shadows, of that destined Seed to bruise
The Serpent, by what means he shall achieve
Mankind's deliverance But the voice of God
To mortal ear is dreadful, they beseech
That Moses might report to them his will,
And terror cease, he grants what they besought,
Instructed that to God is no access
Without Mediator, whose high office now 240
Moses in figure bears, to introduce
One greater, of whose day he shall foretell,
And all the Prophets, in their age, the times
Of great Messiah shall sing Thus laws and rites
Established, such delight hath God in men
Obedient to his will, that he vouchsafes
Among them to set up his tabernacle—
The Holy One with mortal men to dwell.
By his prescript a sanctuary is framed
Of cedar, overlaid with gold, therein 250
An ark, and in the ark his testimony,
The records of his covenant, over these
A mercy-seat of gold, between the wings
Of two bright Cherubim, before him burn

Seven lamps, as in a zodiac representing
 The heavenly fires Over the tent a cloud
 Shall rest by day, a fiery gleam by night,
 Save when they journey, and at length they come,
 Conducted by his Angel, to the land

Promised to Abraham and his seed The rest 260
 Were long to tell how many battles fought;
 How many kings destroyed, and kingdoms won,
 Or how the sun shall in mid-heaven stand still
 A day entire, and night's due course adjourn,
 Man's voice commanding, 'Sun, in Gibeon stand,
 And thou, Moon, in the vale of Aialon,
 Till *Israel* overcome!' so call the third
 From Abraham, son of Isaac, and from him
 His whole descent, who thus shall Canaan win"

Here Adam interposed "O sent from Heaven, 270
 Enlightener of my darkness, gracious things
 Thou hast revealed, those chiefly which concern
 Just Abraham and his seed Now first I find
 Mine eyes true opening, and my heart much eased,
 Erewhile perplexed with thoughts what would become
 Of me and all mankind, but now I see
 His day, in whom all nations shall be blest,
 Favour unmerited by me, who sought
 Forbidden knowledge by forbidden means
 This yet I apprehend not, why to those 280
 Among whom God will deign to dwell on Earth
 So many and so various laws are given
 So many laws argue so many sins
 Among them, how can God with such reside?"

To whom thus Michael "Doubt not but that sin
 Will reign among them, as of thee begot,
 And therefore was law given them, to evince

Their natural pravity, by stirring up
 Sin against law to fight, that, when they see
 Law can discover sin, but not remove, 290
 Save by those shadowy expiations weak,
 The blood of bulls and goats, they may conclude
 Some blood more precious must be paid for Man,
 Just for unjust, that in such righteousness,
 To them by faith imputed, they may find
 Justification towards God, and peace
 Of conscience, which the law by ceremonies
 Cannot appease, nor man the moral part
 Perform, and not performing cannot live.
 So law appears imperfect, and but given 300
 With purpose to resign them, in full time,
 Up to a better covenant, disciplined
 From shadowy types to truth, from flesh to spirit,
 From imposition of strict laws to free
 Acceptance of large grace, from servile fear
 To filial, works of law to works of faith.
 And therefore shall not Moses, though of God
 Highly beloved, being but the minister
 Of law, his people into Canaan lead,
 But Joshua, whom the Gentiles Jesus call, 310
 His name and office bearing, who shall quell
 The adversary Serpent, and bring back
 Through the world's wilderness long-wandered Man
 Safe to eternal Paradise of rest.
 Meanwhile they, in their earthly Canaan placed,
 Long time shall dwell and prosper, but when sins
 National interrupt their public peace,
 Provoking God to raise them enemies—
 From whom as oft he saves them penitent,
 By Judges first, then under Kings, of whom 320

The second, both for piety renowned
 And puissant deeds, a promise shall receive
 Irrevocable, that his regal throne
 For ever shall endure The like shall sing
 All Prophecy—that of the royal stock
 Of David (so I name this king) shall rise
 A Son, the Woman's Seed to thee foretold,
 Foretold to Abraham, as in whom shall trust
 All nations, and to kings foretold, of kings
 The last, for of his reign shall be no end 330
 But first a long succession must ensue,
 And his next son, for wealth and wisdom famed,
 The clouded ark of God, till then in tents
 Wandering, shall in a glorious temple enshrine.
 Such follow him as shall be registered
 Part good, part bad, of bad the longer scroll,
 Whose foul idolatries and other faults,
 Heaped to the popular sum, will so incense
 God, as to leave them, and expose their land,
 Their city, his temple, and his holy ark, 340
 With all his sacred things, a scorn and prey
 To that proud city, whose high walls thou saw'st
 Left in confusion, Babylon thence called
 There in captivity he lets them dwell
 The space of seventy years, then brings them back,
 Remembering mercy, and his covenant sworn
 To David, stablished as the days of Heaven
 Returned from Babylon by leave of kings, *Cyrus,*
 Their lords, whom God disposed, the house of God
 They first re-edify, and for a while 350
 In mean estate live moderate, till, grown
 In wealth and multitude, factious they grow
 But first among the priests dissension springs,

Men who attend the altar, and should most
 Endeavour peace, their strife pollution brings
 Upon the temple itself, at last they seize
 The sceptre, and regard not David's sons;
 Then lose it to a stranger, that the true
 Anointed King Messiah might be born
 Barred of his right. Yet at his birth a star, 360
 Unseen before in Heaven, proclaims him come,
 And guides the eastern sages, who inquire
 His place, to offer incense, myrrh, and gold
 His place of birth a solemn Angel tells
 To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night,
 They gladly thither haste, and by a quire
 Of squadroned Angels hear his carol sung
 A Virgin is his mother, but his Sire
 The Power of the Most High He shall ascend
 The throne hereditary, and bound his reign 370
 With Earth's wide bounds, his glory with the Heavens"

He ceased, discerning Adam with such joy
 Surcharged as had, like grief, been dewed in tears,
 Without the vent of words, which these he breathed
 "O prophet of glad tidings, finisher
 Of utmost hope! now clear I understand
 What oft my steadiest thoughts have searched in vain,
 Why our great Expectation should be called
 The Seed of Woman Virgin Mother, hail!
 High in the love of Heaven, yet from my loins 380
 Thou shalt proceed, and from thy womb the Son
 Of God Most High, so God with Man unites
 Needs must the Serpent now his capital bruise *fatal*
 Expect with mortal pain say where and when
 Their fight, what stroke shall bruise the Victor's heel"
 To whom thus Michael "Dream not of their fight

As of a duel, or the local wounds
Of head or heel Not therefore joins the Son
Manhood to Godhead, with more strength to foil
Thy enemy, nor so is overcome 390
Satan, whose fall from Heaven, a deadlier bruise,
Disabled not to give thee thy death's wound,
Which he who comes thy Saviour shall recure,
Not by destroying Satan, but his works
In thee and in thy seed Nor can this be,
But by fulfilling that which thou didst want,
Obedience to the law of God, imposed
On penalty of death, and suffering death,
The penalty to thy transgression due,
And due to theirs which out of thine will grow 400
So only can high justice rest appaid.
The law of God exact he shall fulfil
Both by obedience and by love, though love
Alone fulfil the law, thy punishment
He shall endure, by coming in the flesh
To a reproachful life and cursed death,
Proclaiming life to all who shall believe
In his redemption, and that his obedience
Imputed becomes theirs by faith—his merits
To save them, not their own, though legal, works 410
For this he shall live hated, be blasphemed,
Seized on by force, judged, and to death condemned,
A shameful and accursed, nailed to the cross
By his own nation, slain for bringing life;
But to the cross he nails thy enemies,
The law that is against thee, and the sins
Of all mankind, with him there crucified,
Never to hurt them more who rightly trust
In this his satisfaction So he dies,

But soon revives, Death over him no power 420
Shall long usurp, ere the third dawning light
Return, the stars of morn shall see him rise
Out of his grave, fresh as the dawning light,
Thy ransom paid, which Man from Death redeems,
His death for Man—as many as offered life
Neglect not, and the benefit embrace
By faith not void of works This godlike act
Annuls thy doom, the death thou shouldst have died,
In sin for ever lost from life, this act
Shall bruise the head of Satan, crush his strength, 430
Defeating Sin and Death, his two main arms,
And fix far deeper in his head their stings
Than temporal death shall bruise the Victor's heel,
Or theirs whom he redeems—a death like sleep,
A gentle wafting to immortal life.
Nor after resurrection shall he stay
Longer on Earth than certain times to appear
To his disciples, men who in his life
Still followed him, to them shall leave in charge
To teach all nations what of him they learned 440
And his salvation, them who shall believe
Baptizing in the profluent stream—the sign
Of washing them from guilt of sin to life
Pure, and in mind prepared, if so befall,
For death like that which the Redeemer died
All nations they shall teach, for from that day
Not only to the sons of Abraham's loins
Salvation shall be preached, but to the sons
Of Abraham's faith wherever through the world,
So in his seed all nations shall be blest. 450
Then to the Heaven of Heavens he shall ascend
With victory, triumphing through the air

Over his foes and thine, there shall surprise
 The Serpent, Prince of air, and drag in chains
 Through all his realm, and there confounded leave,
 Then enter into glory, and resume
 His seat at God's right hand, exalted high
 Above all names in Heaven, and thence shall come,
 When this world's dissolution shall be ripe,
 With glory and power, to judge both quick and dead— 460
 To judge the unfaithful dead, but to reward
 His faithful, and receive them into bliss,
 Whether in Heaven or Earth, for then the Earth
 Shall all be Paradise, far happier place
 Than this of Eden, and far happier days "

So spake the Archangel Michael, then paused,
 As at the world's great period, and our Sire,
 Replete with joy and wonder, thus replied.

"O Goodness infinite, Goodness immense!
 That all this good of evil shall produce, 470
 And evil turn to good, more wonderful
 Than that which by creation first brought forth
 Light out of darkness! Full of doubt I stand,
 Whether I should repent me now of sin
 By me done and occasioned, or rejoice
 Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring,
 To God more glory, more good-will to men
 From God, and over wrath grace shall abound
 But say, if our Deliverer up to Heaven
 Must reascend, what will betide the few, 480
 His faithful, left among the unfaithful herd,
 The enemies of truth Who then shall guide
 His people, who defend? Will they not deal
 Worse with his followers than with him they dealt?"

"Be sure they will," said the Angel, "but from Heaven

He to his own a Comforter will send,
The promise of the Father, who shall dwell,
His Spirit, within them, and the law of faith,
Working through love, upon their hearts shall write,
To guide them in all truth, and also arm 490
With spiritual armour, able to resist
Satan's assaults, and quench his fiery darts,
What man can do against them not afraid,
Though to the death, against such cruelties
With inward consolations recompensed,
And oft supported so as shall amaze
Their proudest persecutors For the Spirit,
Poured first on his Apostles, whom he sends
To evangelize the nations, then on all
Baptized, shall them with wondrous gifts endue 500
To speak all tongues, and do all miracles,
As did their Lord before them Thus they win
Great numbers of each nation to receive
With joy the tidings brought from Heaven at length
Their ministry performed, and race well run,
Their doctrine and their story written left,
They die, but in their room, as they forewarn,
Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous wolves,
Who all the sacred mysteries of Heaven
To their own vile advantages shall turn 510
Of lucre and ambition, and the truth
With superstitions and traditions taint,
Left only in those written records pure,
Though not but by the Spirit understood
Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,
Places, and titles, and with these to join
Secular power, though feigning still to act
By spiritual, to themselves appropriating

The Spirit of God, promised alike and given
To all believers, and, from that pretence,
Spiritual laws by carnal power shall force
On every conscience, laws which none shall find
Left them enrolled, or what the Spirit within
Shall on the heart engrave What will they then,
But force the Spirit of Grace itself, and bind
His consort, Liberty? what but unbuild
His living temples, built by faith to stand,
Their own faith, not another's? for, on Earth,
Who against faith and conscience can be heard
Infallible? Yet many will presume
Whence heavy persecution shall arise
On all who in the worship persevere
Of Spirit and Truth, the rest, far greater part,
Will deem in outward rites and specious forms
Religion satisfied, Truth shall retire
Bestuck with slanderous darts, and works of faith
Rarely be found So shall the world go on,
To good malignant, to bad men benign,
Under her own weight groaning till the day
Appear of respiration to the just,
And vengeance to the wicked, at return
Of Him so lately promised to thy aid,
The Woman's Seed—obscurely then foretold,
Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord,
Last in the clouds from Heaven to be revealed
In glory of the Father, to dissolve
Satan with his perverted world, then raise
From the conflagrant mass, purged and refined,
New Heavens, new Earth, ages of endless date,
Founded in righteousness and peace and love,
To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliss ”

He ended, and thus Adam last replied ·
“How soon hath thy prediction, Seer blest,
Measured this transient world, the race of time,
Till time stand fixed! Beyond is all abyss,
Eternity, whose end no eye can reach
Greatly instructed I shall hence depart,
Greatly in peace of thought, and have my fill
Of knowledge, what this vessel can contain,
Beyond which was my folly to aspire
Henceforth I learn that to obey is best,
And love with fear the only God, to walk
As in his presence, ever to observe
His providence, and on him sole depend,
Merciful over all his works, with good
Still overcoming evil, and by small
Accomplishing great things, by things deemed weak
Subverting worldly-strong, and worldly-wise
By simply meek, that suffering for truth’s sake
Is fortitude to highest victory,
And, to the faithful, death the gate of life,
Taught this by his example whom I now
Acknowledge my Redeemer ever blest.”

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To whom thus also the Angel last replied
“This having learned, thou hast attained the sum
Of wisdom, hope no higher, though all the stars
Thou knew’st by name, and all the ethereal powers,
All secrets of the deep, all Nature’s works,
Or works of God in Heaven, air, Earth, or sea,
And all the riches of this world enjoy’st,
And all the rule, one empire Only add
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add faith,
Add virtue, patience, temperance, add love,
By name to come called charity, the soul

580

Of all the rest then wilt thou not be loth
 To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
 A Paradise within thee, happier far
 Let us descend now, therefore, from this top
 Of speculation, for the hour precise
 Exacts our parting hence, and, see! the guards, 590
 By me encamped on yonder hill, expect
 Their motion, at whose front a flaming sword,
 In signal of remove, waves fiercely round
 We may no longer stay go, waken Eve,
 Her also I with gentle dreams have calmed,
 Portending good, and all her spirits composed
 To meek submission thou, at season fit,
 Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard,
 Chiefly what may concern her faith to know,
 The great deliverance by her seed to come 600
 (For by the Woman's Seed) on all mankind,
 That ye may live, which will be many days,
 Both in one faith unanimous, though sad
 With cause for evils past, yet much more cheered
 . With meditation on the happy end "

He ended, and they both descend the hill
 Descended, Adam to the bower where Eve
 Lay sleeping ran before, but found her waked,
 And thus with words not sad she him received

"Whence thou return'st, and whither went'st, I know, 610
 For God is also in sleep, and dreams advise,
 Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
 Presaging, since with sorrow and heart's distress
 Wearied I fell asleep But now lead on,
 In me is no delay, with thee to go
 Is to stay here, without thee here to stay
 Is to go hence unwilling, thou to me

Art all things under Heaven, all places thou,
Who for my wilful crime art banished hence.

This further consolation yet secure

620

I carry hence though all by me is lost,
Such favour I unworthy am vouchsafed,
By me the Promised Seed shall all restore "

So spake our mother Eve, and Adam heard
Well pleased, but answered not, for now too nigh
The Archangel stood, and from the other hill

To their fixed station, all in bright array,
The Cherubim descended, on the ground

Gliding meteorous, as evening mist

Risen from a river o'er the marish glides,

630

And gathers ground fast at the labourer's heel
Homeward returning High in front advanced,
The brandished sword of God before them blazed,
Fierce as a comet, which with torrid heat,
And vapour as the Libyan air adust,

Began to parch that temperate clime, whereat
In either hand the hastening angel caught

Our lingering parents, and to the eastern gate
Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast

To the subjected plain, then disappeared

640

They, looking back, all the eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,

Waved over by that flaming brand, the gate
With dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms

Some natural tears they dropped, but wiped them soon,
The world was all before them, where to choose

Their place of rest, and Providence their guide

They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way

NOTES.

Abbreviations —

M = Milton, or Milton's poetry, as distinguished from his prose

G = Glossary

Other books of *Paradise Lost* are indicated by Roman numerals, thus, in the first note 'x 1099' signifies book x, line 1099

BOOK XI

1, 2 *stead praying* Either this means 'continued praying,' or M has forgotten x. 1099, where they "prostrate fell" *plight*=condition

3 *prevent grace* From the *Collect*, "We pray thee that thy grace may always prevent and follow us" *prevent*, see G

3—5 An allusion to *Ezekiel*, xl. 19, "and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh" (repeated in chap xxxvi 26) *the stony*, the substantival use of adjectives in M is common Cf VIII 453, "my earthly"—the earthly element in me, and VIII 572, "self esteem, grounded on just and right"

5—8 An allusion to *Romans*, viii 26, "the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered" M had used the same reference many years before, cf *Ekphrastic* (1649), "Though we know not what to pray as we ought, yet he with sighs unutterable by any words dwelling in us maketh intercession for us"

8 *yet*, referring back to l 1—"though they were in lowly plight, yet was their demeanour not mean" *port*, bearing, cf *Com* 297, "port more than human" Common in Elizabethan E, cf *portance* in Spenser "Stately portance borne of heavenly birth," *F Q* II 3 21

10—14 The Greek story of Deucalion and Pyrrha, his wife, corresponds to the Scriptural account of the Flood (cf *Coriolanus*,

11 1 102, *Winter's Tale*, IV 4 442) They were the only survivors from the Deluge, and they consulted the sanctuary of Themis, goddess of custom and equity, how the race of man should be restored Ovid tells the tale, *Met* I 378 *et seq*, and M is thinking of his version

11 *fables* M is generally contemptuous in his allusions to the legends of classical mythology Cf I 197, "whom the fables name of monstrous birth" (i.e. the Titans and giants) So 11 627, *S A* 500

14 *stood* In Ovid's account, *precumbit uterque Pronus humis*

14—16 M is glancing at his own description in bk III of the Limbo or Paradise of Fools, the region into which foolish men who think to reach Heaven by wrong means are, just "at foot of Heaven's ascent," blown clean away by a violent gust—with all their "Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls, The sport of winds" (i.e. *ludibria vertus*, Vergil, *Æn* VI 75) See III 484—97

17. *dimensionless*, i.e. as being spiritual, not material

17—20 M has followed *Revelation* VIII. 3, 4 very closely, cf also Ps cxli 2 The "golden altar" before the Throne is mentioned more than once in *Rev*, cf ix. 13

28 *manuring*, tending with the hand (Fr *main*), cultivating, see G

33 "We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous and he is the propitiation for our sins," 1 *John* II 1, 2.

40, 41 Repeated from \ 76, 77

44 Alluding to *John* XVII, cf especially verses 11 and 21—3

49, 50 i.e. the law I gave forbids him to dwell

50—3 Everything in Eden being pure would reject the pollution in Adam There may be a reference to *Levit* XVIII 25, "the land is defiled and itself vomiteth out her inhabitants"

56 *of incorrupt*, from the state of being incorrupt, for the idiom, see XII 167

59 *that*, i.e. happiness

60 *eternize*, make everlasting, *eternize* is used by Elizabethan writers in the sense 'to immortalize,' especially with poetry Cf Spenser, *Tears of the Muses*, 582, "fill'd with praises of divinest wits, That her eternize with their heavenly wits" So 2 *Henry VI* V 3 31, "eternized in all age to come"

64 Cf XII 427, "faith not void of works"

67 *Synod*, meeting, the word is specially used by Shak of an assembly of the gods Cf *Coriol* V 2 74, "the glorious gods sit in hourly synod"

73—6 Cf XII 227—9, VI 60 (where the "ethereal trumpet from on high" sounds the signal of march to the hosts of Heaven against Satan and his followers) and the third *Elegy*, 60 (*Pura triumphali personat æthra tuba*)

74—6 The Biblical references are to (i) the giving of the ten commandments to Moses on Sinai, *Exod* xix 16—20, and (ii) "the last trump," mentioned in the New Test, e g in I *Cor* xv 52, "for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised," and I *Thess* iv 16 M qualifies his suggestion that the trumpet may be the same throughout by adding *perhaps* The whole passage is anticipated in the *Nat Ode*, 155—164, which should be turned to

74 in *Oreb* Contrast I 6, 7, where M is not sure whether to call the mountain *Oreb* or *Sinai* The usual distinction is that *Horeb* signified the whole range, *Sinai* only its lower part Why M writes *Oreb*, not *Horeb*, is not clear, Mr Beeching compares the similar case, *Ebrew* instead of *Hebrew*, in *S A* 1308 (see note in Pitt Press ed), and *P R* IV 336

77 *regions*, realms of air, *region* was specially used of 'the upper air,' cf "airy region thrilling," *Nat Ode*, 103

78 *amarantine* The *amaranth*, "the fadeless bloom" (Shelley, *Prometheus* II 4), is a type of immortality, because ἀμάρπτος (unwithering), and therefore rightly placed by M in Heaven See the fine passage in III 352—9, where he tells us that this flower once flourished in Eden "by the tree of life," and then, after man's offence, "To Heaven removed, there grows, And flowers aloft, shading the fount of life" Cf Tennyson, *Romney's Remorse*, "Ah, my white heather only grows in heaven, With Milton's amaranth."

79 Alluding to the *Revelation*, cf chap xxii 1, "And he shewed me a pure river of water of life," and vii 7, "living fountains of waters" M has the same allusion in III 358, 359, v 652, *Lyc* 174, and the sonnet *The Religious Memory*, 14, "drink thy fill of pure immortal streams"

80 Cf the "sweet societies" of "the saints above" in *Lyc* 178, 179

83 *souvan*, see G

86 *defended*, forbidden, see G

90 *contrite*, as always in M "be penitent and for thy fault contrite," *S A* 502 The accent shows the influence of the Latin.

91 *my motions*, impulses suggested by me, *motions* is in apposition to the verbs in l 90

91—3 Keightley thought that there was a break in the sense, or

that some word had been omitted But the meaning is, 'I know man's variableness after my influences cease to work in him' *self left*, left to himself

93—8 Referring to *Gen* iii 22, 23

99 Michael had not yet been chosen for the discharge of any duty in the action of the poem, as had Gabriel (bk IV) and Raphael (bk V)

101 *choice*, used passively—'that which is chosen' *flaming*, M always invests the Cherubim with brilliance, following Ezekiel (chap 1—especially verses 13, 14) In IV 797 they are "radiant files," in IX 156, "flaming ministers," in *Nat Ode*, 114, "glittering ranks"

105 *remorse*, pity In modern E *remorse* commonly means regret, compunction of conscience after a deed in Shakespeare the usual sense is pity, tenderness of heart Cf *Merchant of V* IV 1 20, "show thy mercy and remorse"

106 *denounce*, announce, proclaim, with the notion of hostility or menace Cf I 815, and II 106, or *Ekonomklastes*, λλVIII, "To the wicked, God hath denounced ill success in all that they take in hand"

111 *excess*, transgression, cf III 696, "excess that reaches blame"

118—121 See *Genesis*, iii 24, and cf XII 590—3, 626—36

128, 129 The description of the Cherubim accords with the account in the vision of Ezekiel (see chaps 1 and x) Following *Gen* iii 24, M assigns to them always the duty of sentinels In IV 780 they keep "their night-watches," and again in IX 62 Possibly he was influenced by the mediæval belief (due to the treatise mentioned later on, I 220) that the Cherubim had a peculiar power of seeing In three passages Shak alludes to their traditional sharpness of sight—*Macbeth*, I 7 22—4, *Hamlet*, IV 3 50, *Troilus*, III 2 74 See G

129 *double*, because the Latin divinity Janus was commonly represented with two faces, cf Vergil, *Æn* VII 180, *Janique bifrontis imago* In the *Arcopagica* he speaks of "Janus with his two controversial faces," *P W* II 96 Here he might have remembered that Janus sometimes appears as *quadrifrons*, i e with four faces, so that, strictly, *double* was not wanted *spangled*, see G

131—3 *Argus*, the hundred eyed guardian set by Hera to watch over Io Hermes soothed him to sleep with music, and killed him

to drowse charmed, to drowse under the charm of, as had Argus *more wakeful than to* is an imitation of the Greek use of a comparative followed by ἢ ὥστε with the infinitive—in which idiom ὥστε is sometimes omitted.

pastoral reed, the shepherd's pipe or syrinx which Hermes was said to have invented, after he invented the lyre *opiate rod*, his wand or *caduceus* which conferred sleep on whomsoever he wished. Cf Jonson, *Love's Triumph*, "The rod and serpents of Cyllenius (i.e. Hermes) Bring not more peace than these" Keightley notes that *opiate* is probably a reminiscence of Ovid, *Met* I 713, where the rod is *medicata*, i.e. steeped in drugs

133—6 *meanwhile* This is the last day of the action of *P L*, which covers eleven days—not ten, as Addison thought

135 The Greek Leucothea, the white or bright (λευκός) goddess, was identified by the Romans with their deity Matuta or Mater Matuta, the goddess of the dawn Cf, with Newton, Cicero, *Quaest Tusc* I 12, *Leucothea nominata a Græcis Matuta habetur a nostris* Lucretius, V 655, speaks of Matuta ushering in the dawn this office M transfers to Leucothea (for whom see also *Com* 875)

137 *orisons*, prayers, from O F *orison*=Lat *orationem*, in mod F *oraison* Cf V 145, "they bowed, adoring, and began Their orisons" Cotgrave has, "Oraison Orison, prayer"

140 i.e. which feeling (viz. of joy) made him address Eve again But Keightley takes it quite differently—"which feelings of hope and joy his words 'renewed' in, brought back to, the mind of Eve."

146 i.e. prayer will effect, achieve this

151 *methought*, see G

155 Cf *Genesis* III 15, and see bk XII 149—51, 233—5

156 *then*, see bk X 179—81, where the promise is brought to Eve by the Son of God

157 "And Agag said, Surely the bitterness of death is past," I *Sam* xv 32

159, 160 Alluding to *Gen* III 20, "And Adam called his wife's name Eve, because she was the mother of all living" Cf the title M gives her in IV 492, "Our general mother" The name is said to mean 'life.'

162 *sad demeanour meek* Both adjectives qualify *demeanour*, the order of the words—a noun placed between two participles or adjectives—being a favourite one with M Cf V 11, "temperate vapours bland," and *Nat Ode*, 187, "flower inwoven tresses torn" The idiom is Greek, Mr Jerram, in his note on *Lyc* 6, quotes Hesiod, *Theog* 811, χάλκεος οὐδὸς ἀστεμφής, and Eurip *Phæn* 234, νιφύβολον ὄρος ἱρόν Cf XII 635

170 *vouchsaf'st*, deignest The word is spelt *voutsafe* throughout the First Ed of *P L* and Masson retains the form See G

172 *now*, i.e. since the judgment was pronounced upon Adam, *Gen* iii 17—19 ("In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread ")

174, 175 A reminiscence, perhaps, of 1 *Hen IV* iii 1 222, "the heavenly harnessed team Begins his golden progress in the east."

182 *subscribed*, agreed, assented, the metaphor of signing a document Cf *S A* 1535

182—190 The introduction of omens is very common in classical writers In ix 782—4 Milton makes Nature "give signs of woe" when Eve plucks the forbidden fruit, and when Adam eats thereof similar portents ensue, ll 1000—4 Here the omens are symbolical the *two* birds and *two* beasts represent the human pair, and the direction of their flight—"to the Eastern gate"—foreshadows the banishment from Eden Keightley notes that in *Æn* i 393 Vergil makes the number of swans *twelve* to denote the *twelve* vessels that had escaped from the storm.

183 *eclipsed* An eclipse was traditionally of evil omen, the precursor of troubles, cf i 594—9

"As when the sun new risen

In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs "

In his *Hist of Brit M* says, "The same year was an eclipse of the sun in May, followed by a sore pestilence," *P IV* v 287. The vessel in *Lycidas* was "built in the eclipse," l 101

184—6 Cf *Æneid* xii 247—56, where the eagle, *fulvus Jovis ales*, carries aloft the swan, and lets it fall again—the incident being regarded as an omen by the armies *bird of Jove*, cf *Cymbeline*, iv 2 348, "I saw Jove's bird, the Roman eagle," and same play, v 4. 113, "Mount eagle, to *my* palace" (the speaker being Jupiter)

stooped (the p p) means having swooped down to strike at his prey, cf *Cymbeline*, v 4 115, "the holy eagle stoop'd," and v 3 42 It was a technical term in falconry, cf *Taming of Shrew*, iv 1 194, "My *falcon* now is sharp And till she *stoop*" etc

tour, so spelt in the First Ed, and some editors have thought that it means 'wheeling motion,' from *tour*, a circuit. But it seems to me more probable that M meant *tower*, it would be an effective description, by metaphor, of the proverbially lofty flight of the eagle. Cf

L'A' 43, where the lark sings "from his watch *tower* in the skies " That the spelling of *tower* is irregular in M appears from comparison of II 635, where the First Ed has *touring high* (said of Satan's flight), with *P R* II 280, where the First Ed has *high touring* (said of the lark)

190 *eastern gate* Cf. \II 638, 639, the words of which echo this verse M describes the gate in IV 543—8 as "a rock Of alabaster, piled up to the clouds."

196 *too secure*, i.e. too certain of, *secure* implies a false feeling of safety M often uses it in the kindred sense 'careless,' like Lat *securus*, see the *Glossary* to *S A*

203—7 The brilliance is that of the Heavenly host (see I 101, note) led by Michael, which is descending on the western region of Paradise

205 *orient*, bright *orient* was first applied to gems, especially pearls, as coming from the Orient or East then because these were bright it got the notion 'lustrous' In M it also means 'rising'—cf "orient sun," V 175

208 *by this*, by this time "I do know, by this, they stay for me," *Julius Caesar*, I 3 125, cf *by then*='by the time that,' *Com* 540

209 *lighted*, alighted

213—5 See *Gen* xxxii 1, 2 *pavilioned*, encamped, cf his paraphrase of *Ps* iii, "*encamping* round about, They pitch against me their *pavilions* "

216—20 See 2 *Kings*, vi 13—17 *flaming*, i.e. with "the chariots of fire round about Elisha," the "one man" mentioned in I 219

219 Dr Bradshaw notes that the phrase 'to levy war' (see II 501), which Johnson censured, was a technical term found in legal documents and statutes He cites from one of Barrow's *Sermons* (May 29, 1676) "those in the late times who, instead of praying for their sovereign, did raise tumults, and levy war against him " *assassin like*, see G

220 *Hierarch*='member of the heavenly Hierarchies,' and so 'heavenly being,' the title is applied to the angel Raphael in V 468 According to a mediæval belief the heavenly beings were divided into three Hierarchies, and each Hierarchy was subdivided into three Orders or Chords These Orders comprised the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones (*θρόνοι*), forming the first Hierarchy, Dominations (*κυριότητες*), Virtues (*δυνάμεις*), and Powers (*ἐξουσίαι*), forming the second, Principalities (*ἀρχαί*), Archangels and Angels, forming the

third This system was deduced, in the main, from St Paul's words in *Ephes* 1 21 and *Colos* 1 16 First formulated in the treatise *περὶ τῆς οὐρανόθεν λειτουργίας* which was long attributed, though falsely, to Dionysius, the Areopagite, the notion had great influence in the Middle Ages, cf Dante, *Paradiso*, *\XVIII* 98—126 M accepted it, cf 1 737, "Each in his Hierarchy, the Orders bright," and *Church Gov* 1 1, "Yea, the angels themselves are distinguished into their celestial principedoms, satrapies," *P IV* II 442

227 *of us determine*, i.e. make an end of us. Cf II 330, "War hath determined us, and foiled"

232 *Thrones* See 220, note, and cf v 601, "Here, all ye Angels, Thrones, Dominations, Principedoms, Virtues." Used again so in 296

234, 235. Raphael is called "the sociable spirit" in v 221

242—4 Cf the description in v 280—5 of the three pairs of wings of the angel Raphael the middle pair rich with gold

"And colours dipped in Heaven, the third his feet
Shadowed from either heel with feathered mail,
Sky tinctured grun"

242 i.e. more vivid (*lucider*) than any purple from Melibœa (a town on the coast of Thessaly in Magnesia) Vergil mentions the *purpura Melibœa* in *Æneid* v 251, cf also Lucret. II 499

grain of Sarra=Tyrian purple *Sarra* was the old name of Tyre, famous for its dyes procured from a shell fish, cf Vergil, *G* II 506, *Ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro* *grain*, see G

244 *Iris had dyt* Iris was the classical goddess of the rainbow, and the verse is a poetical way of saying that the vest was brilliant as with the hues of a rainbow M had used the same fancy in *Com*, 83, where the Attendant Spirit speaks of his "sky robes, spun out of Iris' woof" See, too, the first reading in *Nat Ode*, 143, 144 (note in Pitt Press ed)

247, 248 i.e. the sword ("with huge two-handed sway," VI 251) with which, in the fight against the rebellious angels, Michael encountered and wounded Satan, see VI 301—34, II 294, 295 *as in a zodiac*, as though it were one of the constellations contained in the zodiac—an allusion to the flashing of the sword This seems to me to be the meaning, cf the use of *zodiac* in VII 255, but for which we might, perhaps, interpret it here in the sense 'girdle' (to which the sword would be attached) *and in his hand*, understand a verb (e.g. *was*) from *hung* in I 247

249 *stole*, stately bearing

253 *their token* Cf. 315, 316 M. is very fond of this form of emphasis; cf. II. 970, "Then, when I am thy captive, talk of chains," and 838, also *Com* 158 Similarly we find *there*, *where*, cf. Pope, *Epilogue to the Satires*, "There, where no father's, brother's, friend's disgrace Once break their rest"

254 i.e. disappointed of his prey for many days (*murder* being passive) Keightley noted that the language of the lines is mainly legal, cf. the phrase 'to defeat the law,' *Henry V.* II. 1. 173, and *Hen. VIII.* II. 1. 14

259-60 Repeated, almost, from II. 48, 49, 56-8

264 *grape*, seizure, spasm; cf. *Alceste*, IV. 5. 124, "gripping pangs the heart doth wound"

267 *discovered*, revealed; Fr. *découvert*, to uncover.

270. *native*, "for she had commenced her existence in Paradise" (Keightley), whereas Adam, created elsewhere, was placed in Eden Cf. VIII. 300 *et seq.*, and *Gen* II. 7, 8

272, 273. i.e. to spend the time granted as a respite *from* that dry, mortal=deedly.

275 *inhalation*, properly 'a visit,' here 'the thing visited,' i.e. the flowers The use of the abstract for the concrete, whether actively or *passively* (as here), is common in M., cf. *Titus*, 7. messenger, *S. A.* 635, *inhalation*=inhabitants, *S. A.* 1512, *attendance*=attendants, *Com* 315. So often in Shak., these being instances of the passive use: "bring in the admiration"=admired person, *All's Well*, II. 1. 91: "O fair affliction, peace!"=afflicted woman, *John*, III. 4. 36

278 *rank*, set in order the metaphor, perhaps, of a general inspecting troops Cf. *Are* 59 where the Genius of the Wood visits his plants—"I Number my ranks, and visit every sprout"

279 *ambrosial*, used of that which delights the taste (as here) or smell From Gk. *ambrosios*, immortal

283 *to*, compared to; see 242 Common in M. and Shak., cf. *Tempest*, I. 2. 480, "To the most of men this is a Caliban, And they to him are angels"

290-2 Cf. VII. 615-18

293 *damp*, depression of spirits, cf. I. 249 We find the adj. in the sense 'depressed,' cf. I. 523, "with looks Downcast and damp" So the verb in the *Arcofaglica*, "this was it which had damped the glory of Italian wits," *P. W.* II. 82.

297 *such of shape*, one who is such in shape

298—300 Cf *S A* 1465—9, where the Messenger shrinks from telling Manoa (the father) the news of Samson's death

307 The jingle of sounds, *knowing known*, suggests IV 830, "Not to know me argues yourselves unknown," and *S A* 1082

309 *who all things can, can*, 'to know how to,' i.e. 'to be able,' was not then, as now, a mere auxiliary In Shrl it governs, but rarely, an accus., cf *Two Gentlemen*, II 4 165, "all I can is nothing," and the *Phoenix*, "the priest That desunctive music can" Perhaps these are accusatives of respect e.g. here the idiom may be 'who is powerful in respect of all things'

310 *weary* Cf Horace's *prece qua fatigent Virgines Vestam*, *Odes*, I 2 26

316, 317 Cf *Ps* civ 29, "Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled," and for the converse—*Ps* lxxii, "God be merciful unto us, and bless us and shew us the light of his countenance" (*Prayer Bk*) See *xxi* 108, 109 and *S A* 1749

325, 326 For Adam the altars would serve as actual reminders (*in memory*), for his descendants as memorials it is the distinction between personal experience and historical tradition But it seems to me possible that the true reading is "in memory *and* monument," a single phrase qualified by "to ages." Todd shows that the two words are often combined, much in this way, and there are numerous places in *M* where *or* appears to have taken the place of *and* through some error Cf *S A* 182, "To visit *or* bewail," and again in ll. 545, 1653 (see Pitt Press ed. of *S A* pp 76, 131) Here the mistake might have been caused by the fact that the two preceding lines, and the following one, begin with the same letter

332, 333 Alluding to *Exodus*, xxxiii 23 Newton thought that l 333 might be an echo of Statius, *Theb* xii 317, *Sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora*

337 *kind*, race, species

338 *virtual*, full of peculiar efficacy, commonly we find *virtuous* in this sense. Cf *Com* 621, "every virtuous plant," and *Il Pen* 113, "the virtuous ring" *Virtue*=efficacy or special power in IV 198, "virtue of life giving plant"

339 *gave to rule* Cf I 736, "and gave to rule the orders bright," and III 243 It is an imitation of the Latin idiom, cf *Æneid* I 65, *tibi Divum pater Et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento* So Dryden, "Then, with a breath, he gave the winds to blow" (trans. of Ovid, *Mét* I)

247—9 M always speaks of Eden as set on a hill, cf 282, 283, IV. 151—7

354. *explicat*, a verb, understand *will*, from 350

356—8 Probably an allusion to *Daniel* x 14, where the angel says to the prophet, "I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter day."

366 *morta' passage*, passage from mortality, cf *Corn* 10, "after this mortal change," i.e. after death

369. The creation of Eve is described in VIII. 452—77, cf *Gen* II 21, 22

374 *et' sit*, i.e. turred to meet the evil, exposed, see *Garrung*, i.e. *my of*, or *it*, viz. *breast*

377 Cf *Exod* XL 2, "In the visions of God brought he me into the land of Israel, and set me upon a very high mountain." The phrase means 'visions sent by God,' see VII 121, note, and 611

380. *see arched*, *the* is omitted in First Ed *prospect*, view

381. *this hill* Its name is not mentioned in Scripture. In *P R* III 252 *et seq* Milton is thought to identify it with Mt Niphates in *Amoen* 2.

382—4 See *P R* III 269 *et seq* the passage should be compared with the list of names here *for different cause*, i.e. to tempt him

383—410 Many poets have delighted in the enumeration of proper names—Milton not least. Cf the *Nat Ode*, one of his earliest poems (1629), I 396 *et seq*, and *P R* III 270 *et seq*. The charm of such passages lies in the musical sound of the names, in their historical associations, and in the impression of vague remoteness and mystery that they convey. Many passages in Vergil remind us how old the device is.

388 Milton's geography is incorrect here. Strictly *Cathay* was identical with China, and *Cambaluc*, its capital, was the same as Peking. But some people held—wrongly—that *Cathay* was distinct from China, lying to the north of it, according to this view (adopted by many map makers in the 17th cent.), *Cambaluc* and Peking were different cities. It is clear from I 390 that M thought so. *Cathay* is a corruption of *Khitai*, the name by which China is still known in Russia and in many Asiatic countries. In the *Arctographica* M writes *Cataio*, *P R* II 69, the adj. *Cathasian* occurs in *l* 293.

Cambaluc, built by Kubliu Khan, was the capital of the Mongol Emperors of China, from about 1264 to 1368. The name is a corruption of the Mongolian *Kaan Baligh*, 'the city of the Khan,' and Peking (cf last note) is still called 'the city of the Khan' by many Asiatic

races The name should be written and accented *Cāmbāluē* *Cāmbālu*, as M and Longfellow have it, was a popular form, where the wrong accent was due to the Italian version of Marco Polo's *Travels* (through which medieval Europe first heard of Cathay and Cambaluc), the French (i.e. the original) MSS of the *Travels* give the correct accent *Cāmbāluē* For *Can*, see G (From the *Encyclopæd Britan*)

389 *Samarcand*, in Central Russian Asia, once the capital of Timur (i.e. *Temur*) whose grave is there Its earlier name was *Mara chanda* It lies about 100 miles from the river Oxus.

Temur, the great Oriental conqueror, Timur, the subject of Marlowe's two tragedies of *Tamberlaine*, he lived 1336—1405 Commonly called Tamerlane (a corruption of *Timur* : *Leng*, 'the lame Timur')

390 *Puquin*, i.e. Peking, the capital of China, Heylyn writes it "*Puquin* or *Pugna*" *Sinzan*, the geographer Ptolemy calls the ancient inhabitants of China *Sina* The word appears to be a corruption of *Tsin*, the title of the great dynasty from which the country got its name *Tsina* (or *China*)

391 These names represent India, Lahore being in the Punjaub, while Agra is the capital of the N W provinces *Mogul* = Arabic *Mughal* = *Mongol* The real founder of the Mughal empire in India, Akbar the Great (died 1603), made Agra his capital later the seat of government was transferred to Lahore The juggler in Jonson's *Masque of Augurs* says, in his affected English, that he can show the audience "de Tartar cham," and "de groat king of Mogull"

392 Here the survey has passed to the East Indies, "the golden Chersonese" being the peninsula of Malacca, "thought by some," says Heylyn, "to be Solomon's *Ophir*" but see l 400

393 *Ecbatana* (as M writes in *P R* III 286), in ancient Media, was the summer capital of the kings of Persia down to the Greek conquest (i.e. about 330 B.C.), as Susa was their winter residence.

394 *Isfahān*, or *Isfahan*, became the capital of Persia in the reign of the Shah Abbās the Great, who ruled 1586—1628 It was very celebrated in the 17th cent., many European merchants and artificers settled there Heylyn (who writes *Hisfaan*) says that the circuit of the city walls was nine miles

394, 395 *Moscow* (then the capital of Russia) is mentioned among the Asiatic names because it was "considered as belonging to Asia in the early part of the seventeenth century, and so included in the maps of Asia of that period" (Masson) One of Milton's last works was a

Brief History of Moscoria *Ksar* is a corruption of Lat *Cæsar*, hence identical with Germ *Kaiser*

395 *Sultan*, i.e. of Turkey, see G *Bizance*=Byzantium, Constantinople.

396 *Turkistan born* The Turkish tribe, which founded the Ottoman empire, came from Central Asia (i.e. Turchestan), whence they were driven by the Mongols early in the 13th century

The vision is directed now to Africa—first on its eastern coast.

397, 398 The empire meant is Abyssinia, *Negus* was the hereditary title of the monarch of the country *Ereco*, now generally spelt *Arkecho*, is a port on the Red Sea, at the northernmost (i.e. "utmost") point of Abyssinia

399 *Mombaza* (or *Mombas*) and *Melinda* are on the east coast of Africa, a little north of Zanzibar, *Quiloa* being a little south of it All three were then noted centres of trade, chiefly Portuguese Heylyn speaks of the "commodious haven" of Melinda

400 *Sofala*, on the same coast, but further south, won by the Portuguese in 1505, the district of Sofala still forms part of their colonial province of Mozambique M is alluding to the town of Sofala (lying on the island of Chiloane in the estuary of the river Sofala) which in the 17th cent. was famous as a mercantile port Strictly, the name should be accented *Sofála*, though M makes it *Sofald*

Ophir, whence Solomon's fleet brought gold and precious stones, 1 *Kings* ix 28, x 11 From *Gen* x 29 it is clear that Ophir was in southern Arabia, and not on the east side of Africa. Speaking of Sofala, Heylyn says, "This Country for its abundance of Gold and Ivory, is by some thought to be that Land of *Ophir* to which Solomon sent," he rejects the view, adding, "of this opinion Ortelius in his *Thesaurus* was the first Author" Another incorrect theory identified Ophir with the peninsula of Malacca, cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, VIII vi 4, "Solomon gave this command, that they should go to the land that was of old called Ophir, but now the *Aurea Chersonesus*, which belongs to India, to fetch him gold" See 392, *ante* In *Of Reformation* M alludes to the "mines of Ophir" as proverbial sources of wealth, *P W* II 418

401. A glance at the map will show that the states of Congo and Angola (Portuguese since 17th cent.) are on the west coast of Africa, practically on a level with Quiloa

402 *thence*, i.e. still keeping to the west coast *Niger flood*, one

of the three great rivers of Africa, roughly speaking, it rises north of Upper Guinea, and flows into the Gulf of Guinea, after a course of 2600 miles. It has various local names, the chief being the *Foliba*, by which it is marked in most modern maps.

The *Atlas Mountains* are a range in northern Africa, between the Great Desert and the Mediterranean, their chief heights being in Morocco and Algiers.

403, 404 The five territories here mentioned formed part of the country vaguely called *Barbary*, the seaboard of which lay along the Mediterranean, and westwards was bounded by the Atlantic. There is still a small town of *Fez* in Morocco, its name, says Heylyn, is an Arabic word for gold. *Sus*, or *Susa*, is now Tunis.

Morocco, spelt so in First Ed., both here and in 1584. The form is closer than *Morocco* to the Arabic *Marrákush*. Heylyn mentions a town of *Tremisen* (with province of same name) lying inland to the south of Algiers.

403 *Almansor*, 'the victorious,' calif of Bagdad, he reigned from 754 to 775, his conquests extended over the whole of north Africa.

405 He just glances at Europe "as concentrated all in all in Rome" (Masson)—of which there is an elaborate description in *P R* IV 31—85.

406 *In spirit*, i.e. not with his eyes, because America was on the opposite side of the globe (Newton).

407 *Montezume*, spelt *Moteczume* in First Ed. The ordinary form *Montezuma* is the Spanish form of the Aztec name *Moteuczoma*. M is referring to the Emperor Montezuma subdued by the Spanish general Cortes, 1519—20.

408 *Cusco*, i.e. Cuzco, in the centre of Peru (the word *Cuzco* meaning 'centre'), it was formerly the capital of the empire of the Incas, whose last native sovereign, Atahualpa—in the Spanish form, Atabalipa—was conquered by the Spaniard, Pizarro, 1532—3.

riches, in the lines *Ad Patrem* M glances (l. 94) at the *Perùana regna* as proverbial for wealth.

409—11 In the 16th and 17th centuries a popular belief obtained that in the north east of South America there existed a region of fabulous wealth, termed by the Spanish *El Dorado*, "the Golden." A Spaniard named Martinez said that he had been cast adrift on the coast of Guiana, and had made his way to a city Manoa, the roofs and walls whereof were made of precious metals. It was to discover this region that Sir Walter Raleigh ascended the Orinoco in 1585. The belief may

have originated in the stories brought home by Spanish travellers of the riches of their conquests in South America

409 *unspoiled*, i.e. "not yet reached and plundered, like Mexico and Peru, by Europeans" (Keightley)

410 *Guana*, between the rivers Amazon and Orinoco, the greater portion is now divided between Venezuela and Brazil *great city*, i.e. Manoa (see l. 409) *Gerjon's sons*, the Spanish, Geryon being the Spanish king whose oxen Hercules carried off (see *Aeneid* VIII 202, 203)

411, 412 Newton pointed out that Tasso had made the same archangel, Michael, perform the same service for Godfrey in *Jerusalem Delivered*, LVIII 93 Other parallels might be cited from Homer and Vergil, e.g. *Aeneid* II. 663—6, where Venus clears the mist away for Aeneas

413 *promised clearer sight* Cf Satan's words to Eve, IV 705—8
"in the day

Ye eat thereof, your eyes that seem so clear,
Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then
Opened and cleared "

414 *euphrasy*, the plant 'eye bright,' from *εὐφράσω*, to cheer According to the old doctrine of *Signatures* (see the *Preface* to *S. A.*) the efficacy of a plant or mineral was indicated by its similarity in colour or shape to the part of the body diseased *euphrasy* has a flower with an eye like mark hence its use as a remedy for dim sight, which it was thought to clear Cf Hood's *Midsummer Fairies*, 114, "With fairy euphrasy they purged my eyes To let me see their cities in the skies "

rue, a herb that was supposed to have many valuable qualities, e.g. as a specific against venomous bites Keightley quotes from Gerard's *Herball* (1598) to the effect that rue "if boiled and kept in pickle, like samphire, when eaten 'quickeneth the sight,' and also that 'applied with honey and the juice of fennell, it is a remedy against dim eyes '" The popular name of rue, viz. "herb of grace" (cf *Hamlet*, IV 5 181), may have been due to the esteem in which the plant was held on account of these medicinal properties but perhaps it was so called as symbolising repentance (i.e. from *rue*=to repent)

414—19 Probably M is thinking of his own blindness According to Edward Phillips, who wrote a *Memoir* of his uncle, he damaged his sight by constant use of specifics See the *Life*, p. xvi *mental sight*, cf III 51—55, where M contrasts the light of the eyes with that of the

soul The blind Samson is "with inward eyes illuminated," *S A* 1689

429—47 The story of Cain and Abel, *Gen* iv 2—8

430, 431 From *Gen* iv 2 *tillth*, tilled land, commonly *tillth* is active in sense = 'husbandry, cultivation' Cf Cotgrave's definition, "labouring, ploughing, or breaking up of the ground"

433 *sord*, a dialect form of *sward*, A. S. *sweard*, a skin or surface In the *Winter's Tale*, iv 4 157, the First Folio prints *greene sord*

436 *unculled*, not carefully picked out

439 *inwards*, the inward parts, used so in *Othello*, II i 306

441, 442 *Gen* iv 4 only says, "And the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering," but the verse is usually explained as M has interpreted it. Cf Gideon's offering, *Judg* vi 21, Elijah's, 1 *Kings* xviii 38, Solomon's, 2 *Chron* vii 1 each was "consumed" with fire from heaven, in sign of acceptance.

457 *fact*, deed "how heinous had the fact been," *S A* 493

458, 459 Alluding to *Hebrews* xi. 4

469—93 This notion of the "cave of death," crowded with personified shapes of evil and disease, is purely conventional many such pictures have been painted by poets In II 960—67 M depicts the palace of Chaos, on whom attend Ades, and Tumult, and Discord, with other evils (all personified) In *In Quantum Nov* 138—154 he depicts the "cave of Murder"—*torvi spelunca Phoni*, l 141, *antrum horrens, scopulosum, atrum feralibus umbris*, l 152 And there he introduces the 'shapes' of *Timor*, *Furor*, *Dolus* and other abstractions So Spenser has a picture, *F Q* II 7 21—25, of the palace of Pluto, by whom sit Payne and Strife, while Care guards the door, and other evils are hard by Such passages are alike because they have a common origin, viz Vergil's account of the realm of Pluto in *Aeneid* vi 273—81 We may remember that the fourth draft (see *Introduction*) of *Paradise Lost* contained "a mask of all the evils of this world" some of the diseases here mentioned might have been among them

470 *terrible*, strictly it qualifies *ways*, but he means the *cave*

472 *intemperance*, see 531, note.

479 *a lazarus house*, a hospital for lepers, *lazar* coming from the name of the beggar in *St Luke* xvi 20 The traveller Hentzner, who visited England in Elizabeth's reign, noted that the English suffered much from leprosy, and that there were many 'lazar houses.' Very likely Milton had seen one.

482 *feverous kinds*=kinds of fever, cf *monstrous world*=world of monsters, *Lyc* 158

485—7 Three lines not in the First Ed, inserted in Second

485 *phrensy*, commonly spelt so in M, see G

486—8 *moon-struck madness*, i.e. *lunacy*, so called from the supposed effect of the moon (Lat *luna*) in causing or increasing madness Cf *Othello*, v 2 109, "She (the moon) comes more nearer earth and makes men mad" *atrophy*, Gk. *ατροφία*, a disease in which the body wastes away through not being nourished by the food taken (Gk *δ*, not, and *τρέφειν*, to nourish) *pinning*=causing to pine, i.e. active in sense, as in XII 77 *marasmus*, the disease of consumption, Gk *μαρασμός*, a wasting, withering, from *μαράνω*, to wither away *rheumism*, rheumatism

491 The "dreadful dart" of Death is mentioned in II 672, 786 *oft invoked* Cf Soph, *Philoct* 793, ὦ θάνατε, θάνατε, πῶς αἰεὶ λαλοῦμενος | οὕτω κατ' ἡμᾶρ οὐ δύνη μολεῖν ποτέ,

494 *deform*=Lat *deformis*, hideous, unsightly, cf II 706, "dreadful and deform" The *Century Dict* quotes Wyclif, *Gen* xli 19, "other seven oxen defourme and leene" In *S A* 699 *deformed*=that which makes unsightly

496, 497 The couplet, as Whalley noted, is made up of reminiscences of Shakespeare. Cf *Macbeth* v 8 12, 13, "I bear a charmed life which must not yield To one of woman born," and the same scene 17, 18, "that tongue hath cow'd my better part of man" Also *Hen V* iv 6 28—32

"The pretty and sweet manner of it forced

Those waters from me which I would have stopp'd,

But I had not so much of man in me,

And all my mother came into my eyes

And gave me up to tears"

508, 509 *Genesis* i 26, "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness" *erect*, upright, in I 679 Mammon is "the least erected spirit that fell"

518, 519 *his image*, i.e. appetite's Eve's main inducement (he says) to eat of the fruit was appetite, this agrees with the account in I 740 *et seq*

531 Alluding to the maxim of the ancients, μηδὲν ἄγαν—*ne quid in nimis* The praises of a temperate life are often on Milton's lips The theme inspires a fine passage in *Com* 762—79 In *II Pen* 46 he invokes "Spare Fast, that oft with gods doth diet," and in the sixth *Elegy* tells Diodati that the poet who would handle grave matters and

rival Homer must be ascetic in his life (*ille quidem parce vivat*) No doubt, in the present passage, as in *S A* 553—7, M is thinking of his own frugal, temperate habits

535—37 Perhaps a reminiscence, as Newton thought, of Cicero, *De Senectute* 19, *Et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sint, vi avelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas*

541 *obtuse*, dulled, blunted

542—6 M is probably glancing at his own ill health He suffered much from gout, and told a clergyman who visited him in his last years that "was he free from the pain this gave him, his blindness would be tolerable" There is a similar allusion in *S A* 698—700

542 *to*, compared to, see 283 *for the air*, i.e. in exchange for

543—6 Todd quotes a passage in which Burton in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* reckons the chief cause of melancholy to be "old age, which, being cold and dry, and of the same quality as Melancholy is, must needs cause it, by diminution of spirits and substance" M often refers to the old physiology of the four "humours," of which melancholy (the black bile) was one, see *Com* 810, *S A* 600

551, 552 The First Ed reads—"Of rendring up *Michael* to him repli'd" There is an allusion here to *Job* xiv 14

554 Cf Horace's *Permitte divos cetera—Odes*, I 9 9

556—73 Referring to the descendants of Cain, see *Gen* iv 20—22 In l 560 "*who* moved" means Jubal, "the father of all such as handle the *harp and organ*," *Gen.* iv 21

559, 560 *chime*, harmony of sounds The organ was Milton's favourite instrument, he had been taught to play it by his father See the accurate account of its mechanism in l 707, 708

561, 562 *volant touch* Todd aptly compared Dryden's lines, "Timotheus, plac'd on high with *flying fingers* touched the lyre," *Alexander's Feast*, 18 *instinct*, instinctively

563 *transverse*, across, i.e. across the keys of the instrument In the *Tractate on Education* a "skilful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues," *P W* III 476 A *fugue* (Ital *fuga*, a flight) is a form of musical composition that scarce admits of brief definition The whole passage has often been cited as a striking instance of Milton's accuracy in the use of technical terms of music.

564 i.e. Tubal Cain, "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron," *Gen* iv 22

573 i.e. cast in moulds (*fusil*), or carved

573—92 Referring to the descendants of Seth According to Jewish tradition they dwelt in the mountains near to Paradise (i.e. "on the *hither* side"), whereas Cain went out to "the east of Eden," *Gen* 11 16 They are said by Josephus and other writers to have been addicted to the study of physics and astronomy, cf the *Antiquities*, I 11 3, "They (i.e. the Sethites) were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies, and their order" This tradition M glances at in I 278 ("know his works")

581, 582 *Gerensis* vi 1, 2 *bevy*, company, see G

582—595 This passage may be compared with *P R* II 153—171, and 362—365

584 In I 449 the Syrian women lament for Adonis "in amorous ditties," *dittys*, from Lat *dictatum* (not *dictum*), meant the words as opposed to the music of a ballad

586, 587 M repeats himself in *P R* II 162, "Hearts tangled in amorous nets" In his first *Elegy* 60, he had spoken of the *Aurea quæ fallax retia tendit Amor* Bowle notes that Ariosto has the phrase *amorosa rete* (*Orlando Fur* I 12), probably M remembered it, he knew Ariosto's works well There may be a reminiscence of Milton in Tennyson's *Madeline*—"all my heart entanglest In a golden netted smile" Milton's influence is almost as conspicuous in Tennyson's early poems as in Keats.

588, 589 *harbinger*, forerunner, see G The star is Hesperus, - called *stella Veneris*

591 *Hymen*, the classical god of marriage, cf the invocation in *L'A* 125, 126, "let Hymen oft appear In saffron robe, with taper clear," i.e. the "nuptial torch" (I 590), which, strictly, had to be pine wood Cf the *Masque of Hymen*, "entered Hymen in his right hand a torch of pine tree," where, in the note, Ben Jonson cites Ovid—*Expectet puros pinæ tædæ dies* See also Milton's *Epitaph on the M of W* 18—20

595 *symphonies*, harmonious sounds In modern E *symphony* (Gk *συμφωνία*) signifies a special form of musical composition, in M it means no more than 'harmony' Cf Cotgrave, "*Symphonie* Harmony, tunable singing," and Bullokar (1616), "Symphonie, consent in Musick"

612 i.e. acknowledged none of his gifts, for the position of *none*, cf IV 704 It expresses emphasis, so sometimes in Shak. Cf *Twelfth Night*, III 4 262, "satisfaction can be none but by pangs of death"

614 Michael has just said that Cain's descendants would beget a

beauteous race here he appeals to the testimony of Adam's own eyes, the "female troop" are that race

620 'To troll' is to roll, cf the phrase 'to troll the bowl,' i.e. to circulate it (in the game of bowls) Keightley quotes from Golding's trans of Ovid, *Met* x 664, "Neptune's imp trolled down at one side of the way an apple." But commonly *troll* was used in phrases like 'troll a catch' (in music), cf *Tempest*, III 2 126, "will you troll the catch?" and Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, I 2, "I'll troll ballads" The notion there is 'to run over glibly, fluently' Probably, therefore, M means that these 'goddesses' are voluble of speech See G

621—5 "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair," *Gen* vi 2 "It is now generally agreed, that this passage is to be understood of the sons of Seth" (Newton) But in v 447 M (following Josephus, *Antiq* I iii 1) makes the 'sons of God'=angels

624 *trains*, snares, wiles, see G

625—7 In Milton, as in Shak, the quibbling use of words often expresses grim sarcasm these lines contain two instances in point—*swim* and *world* See also 756, 757 Todd noted that the figurative sense of *swim*= 'revel' was not uncommon, cf *Faerie Q* I 12 41, "swimming in that sea of blisfull joy"

627 Cf IX 11, "That brought into this world a world of woe" Phrases like "world of care" (*Rich III* III 7 223), "world of wealth" (*Hen VIII* III 2 211), meaning 'much of,' are frequent in Shak

631 *paths indirect*, cf 2 *Henry IV* IV 5 185, "By what by-paths and indirect crook'd ways I met this crown," *indirect* was then a strong word—'wrong, unfair'

632, 633 An expression of Milton's own opinion Unhappy in his first marriage, which led to the composition of his bitter pamphlets on *Divorce*, and in the ill behaviour of his daughters, he seldom let pass an opportunity for invective against women See *S A passim* (especially ll. 1010 *et seq*) There is probably a quibble here, the old derivation of *woman* being *woe to man*!

635, 636 Again M himself is the speaker His conception of the relative position of man and woman is summed up in a sentence that occurs more than once in his prose works—"woman was made for man." Cf IV 295—9, 635—8, IX 1182—6, X 145—56, and *S A* 1053—60 Throughout *P L* "the superiority of Adam is diligently sustained" (Johnson)

638—73 Obviously modelled on the description of the shield of Achilles, *Il* xviii 478 *et seq* Cf the use that Vergil makes of the same passage in *Æn* viii 608—728, describing the shield which Venus brings to Æneas, figured with representations of the greatest scenes in the history of Rome

643 Repeated from *Il* 531, "Part curb their fiery steeds," where M is describing (cf *Il* ii 773, *Æn* vi 642) the "heroic games" of the rebellious angels after the Council at Pandæmonium

646—55 *Iliad* xviii 527 *et seq*

651 *makes* The First Ed has *tacks*, perhaps a misprint M never uses the word, it would scarce give any sense here

656 *scale*, ladder, Lat *scala*

660, 661 Clearly from *Il* xviii 507 *haralds*, see G For councils (in Scripture) held "in the city gates," see *Gen* xxiv 20

665 *one rising*, Enoch of middle age, Enoch was 365 years old when translated to Heaven—"1 e not half the full age attributed to the oldest patriarchs" (Masson)

669 *exploded*, hissed, see G *had*, 1 e would have

684. Milton's own "ill-mated" first marriage had strongly influenced his life and opinions, see l 632

687, 688 *prodigious*, unnatural, cf. *Il* 624, 625 The reference is to *Gen* vi. 4, "There were giants in the earth in those days"

695, 696 Keeping the punctuation of the original, I think that the sense is—"to be styled great conquerors shall be held the highest pitch of triumph for glorious deeds accomplished" This makes *of triumph* depend on *highest pitch* understood from 693, and *for glory done* depend on *of triumph* *triumph* signifying the honour which a man gets in return for glorious achievements 'To do glory' is a curious phrase in this sense—Shakespeare uses it differently in *Sonnet* 132—and Bentley proposed 'for glory won' Newton interprets the passage—"To overcome shall be held the highest pitch of glory, and *shall be done* for glory of triumph, to be (1 e so as to be) styled great conquerors' But the ellipse *shall be* is very awkward

700—9 Taken partly from *Gen* v, partly from *Jude* Thus cf. *Il* 700 and 704, 705 with these verses "And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, To execute judgment upon all," *Jude*, 14, 15

706 A variation on *III* 522 He assumes that Enoch's translation to Heaven resembled that of Elijah (2 *Kings* ii 11) Cf *P R* ii 16,

and his first *Epigram*, *Qualiter ille*. *Liquit Iordanos turbine raptus agros rapt*, see G

708 *climes*, regions, a common use in M Cf 1 242, "Is this the region, this the soil, the clime?" Now it rather implies 'temperature,' like *climate*

715 *luxury*, a much stronger word then than now In Shak it always means lust, lasciviousness, so *luxurious*=lustful *Luxuria* and *luxuriosus* were used thus in the Latin of the Church Fathers

717 *passing*, excessive, surpassing *fair*=fairness, cf Shak *Son* 18, "every fair from fair sometimes declines," and see l 4, note

718 *broils*, disputes, quarrels, cf Fr *brouiller*, to mingle, confuse

719 The "reverend sire" (cf *Lyc* 100) is Noah

723 *triumphs*, public shows or festivities, see G

724 See 1 *Peter* iii 19, 20 Dunster observed that in several details of the account of Noah in these lines M has followed the *Antiquities* of Josephus, bk 1, chap iii

728—58 See *Gen* vi, vii There are occasional echoes in the passage of Ovid's description of the Deluge (*Met* 1), e g "sea without shore" in l 750 suggests Ovid's *decrant quoque litora ponto*, *Met* 1, l 292

730 *hight*, see G

731 *large*, largely

738 *the south wind*, the precursor of rain

741 *dusk* is an adj in *P R* 1 296, and iv 76, "dusk faces"

742 *amain*, in quantities, or, with speed, see G

752 *stabled*, had their lairs, cf *Com* 534, "stabled wolves," i e wolves in their haunts From Lat *stabulum*=lair—*stabula alta ferarum*, *Aeneid* vi 179

753 *bottom*, vessel, cf *Twelfth Night*, v 1 60, "the most noble bottom of our fleet," and *Merchant of V* 1 1 42, "My ventures are not in one bottom trusted"

756, 757 See note on l 625

763—6 A common sentiment Cf *Com* 362, "What need a man forestall his date of grief?", or Landor, *Gebir* vi "Oh! seek not destined evils to divine, Found out at last too soon"

765, 766 *Matthew* vi 34, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof" *dispensed*, i e portioned out—distributed *so as to be* the burden

769 *abortive*, before their time

772 *evil sure*, i e *of* evil he may be certain For the omission of the preposition, cf *S A* 1408, "this be sure"=*of* this be sure

773, 774 *neither* *and* Rightly explained by Newton as an imitation of the Latin idiom *neque et*. He quoted from Cicero, *De Oratore*—*neque et ego iudico stultus, et suo valde sapiens*. Exactly parallel is the sentence cited by Todd from Milton's prose works, "the Jews who were *et* *ther* won with the austerity of John the Baptist, *and* thought it too etc."

779. For *wander* as a trans. vb. cf. *P. R.* II 246, "Wandering this woody maze." So *roam* in I 521, "roamed the isles," and *rove*, *Com.* 60.

782. The First Ed. has a mark of interrogation after *thus*, and there is no need to remove it, otherwise we might make both clauses—*her* *and* *she* *her* *will end*—depend on *unfold*.

796. *in peace*, in time of peace.

798, 799. It was one of Milton's favourite ideas (for which he might have quoted the authority of Aristotle), that in the history of every nation moral corruption and loss of political liberty go hand in hand: that a people which is corrupt ceases to care for freedom. Cf. *S. A.* 268—270.

"But what more oft in nations grown corrupt,
And by their vices brought to servitude,
Than to love bondage more than liberty!"

The thought is often insisted upon in his prose works. See VII 90 *et seq.*

800. *M* always accents the noun, as we do the verb, *contest*, cf. *S. A.* 461, 862.

801—5. Interpreted by most editors as a political reference: many Puritans, as *M* knew, had silently acquiesced in the Restoration. Cf. his covert attack in *S. A.* 1464 on the Presbyterians.

804, 805. The point whereon *Comus* and the Lady dispute (*Com.* 710—80).

808—818. A picture of Milton himself in the lonely last years of his life, perhaps he meant it as such. The "dark age" (from his point of view) represented that in which the Restoration had been brought about, the "wicked ways" were those of the courtiers of Charles II., the "wrath to come" stood for the second Revolution which he foretold more plainly in *S. A.*

821. *devote* = Lat. *devotus*, 'set apart as by a vow' (*votum*), especially 'set apart for destruction,' i.e. doomed. Cf. III 208, "to destruction sacred and devote," where *sacred* is used in the same sense 'destined,' Lat. *sacer*. For *wrack*, see G.

823. *select*, set aside. In Elizabethan E. the form of the p p is

often influenced by the Latin Cf the *Utopia*, "reject from all common administration" (i.e. *rejectus*), p. 148, and More's *Richard III*, "whose mynd, in tender youth infect, shal redily fal to mischief" (i.e. *infectus*), p. 10—Pitt Press eds. So *pollute*=*pollutus*, in *Nat. Ode*, 41

824 *cataracts* In *Gen* vii 11, the Heb word rendered by *windows* in the A V (or *flood gates*, margin) is translated *καταρῆδραι* in the Septuagint, *cataractæ* in the Vulgate. The word is appropriate of tropical rain (From Newton's note)

827 *heave*, lift, of Germ *leben* M uses 'heave the head'=up lift it, in *Cem* 885, *S A* 197, *L'Al* 145

829—35 It was a generally held opinion that Paradise was obliterated by the Flood, but the particular explanation here given of its removal appears to be of Milton's own invention

831 *horned*, branching into horns, i.e. channels, as a river does when it meets some obstacle. Probably we get the same notion in the Lat *tauriformis* as applied to rivers, cf Horace's *tauriformis Ausidus*, *Odes* iv 14 25, and Vergil *G* iv 371, 372. Todd noted that the same phrase *horned flood*, in the same sense, occurs in Ben Jonson, *For* iii 7, and Browne, *Brit Past* ii 5 (of which work Milton's own annotated copy survives)

832 *his* M. never uses *its* if he can avoid doing so, *its* only occurs in three places—I 254, iv 813, *Nat. Ode* 106 (see detailed note in Pitt Press ed.) Up till the end of the 17th cent the neuter possessive pronoun was *his*, gradually *its* took the place of *his*. But Spenser keeps the old idiom, so does Shak., except in nine passages of his latest plays. M. varies sometimes (as here) he retains *his* (slowly becoming obsolete), very often, if the noun be feminine, he personifies it and writes *her*, and in the three passages mentioned *supra* he admits the new idiom *its*

833 Probably the Euphrates is meant—"the great river, the river Euphrates," *Gen* xv 18. The Tigris is less likely *the gulf*, i.e. the Persian Gulf, called "the Persian bay," *P A* iii 273

835 *ores*, a kind of whale, Ben Jonson speaks of "Proteus' herds, and Neptune's ores" in the *Masque of Neptune's Triumph* *clang*, used, like Lat. *clangor*, of the cries of birds in vii 422

840 'To *hull*' is 'to to s or drive on the water, like the hull of a ship without sails' Cf Gervase Markham's *Sir Richard Grimle*, "Then casts he Anchor hulling on the maine," or *Twelfth Night*, i 5 217, "Will you hoist sail, sir? No, I am to hull here a little longer"

842—9 Cf the account in VII 285—306 of the subsidence of the waters after the Creation of the earth

842 "And God made a wind to pass over the earth," *Gen* viii 1 M would naturally select the north as the parching, drying wind, cf Vergil, *G* 1 93, *Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat*, or *Ecclus* xliii 21, "The cold north wind burneth the wilderness." He may, too, have recollected Ovid's account of the re appearance of the earth, *nimbis Aquilone remotis*

846 *their*, referring to *wave* M may have dictated *waves*, or treated *wave* as a collective noun (and so avoided writing *its*) Dr Bradshaw says, "*their* stands for *its*," comparing cases where *each* is followed by *then*, e g I 889, "*each their way*" But I doubt whether the parallel holds, since in Elizabethan E *each* could be used as a plural word, taking a plural verb or pronoun after it Cf *Coriolanus*, III 2 44, "Tell me what each by the other lose," and Shakespeare's 28th *Sonnet*, "And each, though enemies Do in consent shake hands to torture me"

848—67 There are continual references to *Gen* viii *sluces*, see G

851 "And the ark rested upon the mountains of Ararat," *Gen* viii 4 Cf Josephus, "After this the ark rested on the top of a certain mountain in Armenia," *Antiq* I iii 5

858 *his* "In *Gen* viii 9 the dove is feminine" (Keightley)

866 *three*, red, yellow and blue (according to the belief then held), cf 879 Now the rainbow is resolved into seven colours *listed*, striped, streaked Cf Tennyson, *Vivien*, "Trees that shone white listed through the gloom" See G

870 *thou, who* In First Ed *thou that*

880, 881 Some editors place a note of interrogation at the end of I 879, and explain 880—881 thus—"are they (i e the streaks) distended or do they serve?" The advantage of this is that it supplies a direct alternative to "*or serve*," on the other hand the ellipse in 880 is awkward, and the line sounds, I think, more natural if taken as a statement, not as a question, from Adam "What (he asks) mean those streaks spread over the heaven? is it that they serve to bind? etc" The second question is a kind of after-thought, introduced by *or*, though no regular alternative has preceded

as the brow The notion is that of a knitted brow relaxing its wrinkled lines, i e the frown, expressive of anger or thought M uses the same idea to suggest the influence of music, cf *II Pen* 58, "Less

Phulomel will deign a song Smoothing the rugged brow of Night," and *P R* II 164, "power to soften and tame Severest temper, smoothe the rugged'st brow" (*rugged* in either case meaning 'wrinkled')

886 *late*, recently, lately

886—901 A combination of Scriptural passages Cf 886, 888—9, 890 respectively with *Gen* vi 6, 11—12, 9, 892—8, with *Gen* ix 11—15, 898—9, with *Gen* viii 22, and 900—1, with 2 *Peter* iii 12—13

889 See 846, note, and cf vi 453, "each in their kind"

BOOK XII

1—5 These five lines were added in the Second Ed., when bk x. (of the First Ed.) was divided into the present bks xi—xii, just as, at the same time, the first three verses of bk viii were inserted, when bk. vii (of the First Ed.) was divided into what are now bks vii—viii In the First Ed the line in Michael's speech, "Both heaven and earth etc.," which forms the close of the present bk. xi, was followed, without any break, by "Thus thou hast seen"

1 *bates*, printed so in the First Ed, and the sense, if we retain the reading, must be 'slackens,' i.e. *abates*, his course But some editors read *bait*s, which is used in *S A* 1538, there, however, the word is spelt *bait*s in the First Ed.—an argument, as it seems to me, against altering the text here. To *bait* is to stop on a journey (note *journey* in this line) for refreshment, the word being cognate with *bite*, see *Glossary* to *S A* In the *S A* passage the converse change—*bait*s to *bates*—is made in some editions—which is certainly wrong

8—10 Till then all that Adam saw appeared in visions (xi 377)

16—24 A picture of the world in the 'Silver Age,' when the government was patriarchal ("under paternal rule")

18 *labouring*, cultivating Used actively in *S A* 1298, with the sense 'causing to work' As a trans vb in Shak. it means 'to effect by labour'—"he would labour my delivery," *Rich III* I 4 253

24 *one*, i.e. Nimrod. In what follows M is giving expression to his own republican feelings, and his dislike of a monarchy Nimrod, he says, was the first to claim sovereign power over his fellow men and then Nimrod is depicted in the most unfavourable light, so that we may infer that the institution (i.e. monarchy) which had such an evil originator must be itself evil

28 *dispossess*, oust from their possession, drive out These compounds with *dis* as a neg prefix implying 'to deprive of,' are very common in M, cf *dispeople*, *disexercise*, *disglorify* (*S A* 442), *denthroned* (II 229)

30-4 The description of Nimrod in *Gen.* x 9, "He was a mighty hunter," has been explained in two ways (i) literally, according to the obvious sense of the English rendering, (ii) figuratively, as meaning that he was a great conqueror, this is implied by the preceding verse, which speaks of his beginning to found an empire, while the Hebrew translated "hunter" would appear, from other passages, to have been applicable to a warrior making raids on his enemies It is under the second aspect that M regards Nimrod—as a tyrannous ruler extending his empire and persecuting all who resisted men, not beasts, were his prey Compare the picture of him that Josephus draws "a bold man, and of great strength of hand He changed the government into a tyranny, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but to bring them into a constant dependence upon his own power," *Antiquities*, I iv 2 I think that in the whole of this passage concerning Nimrod and the Tower of Babel Milton had Josephus' narrative in his mind

34 M glances at the two interpretations which have been given of the phrase "before the Lord," *Gen* x 9 (i) 'in defiance of God,' which is certainly in accordance with Josephus' account, (ii) 'under God,' i.e. "as usurping all authority to himself next under God, and claiming it *jure divino*" (Newton), just as in Milton's own day "the divine right of kings" had been put forward The second view is very improbable

36 Alluding to the incorrect notion that *Nimrod* is connected with the Heb root *mārad*, to rebel More probably, the name is Assyrian Of course, it suits Milton's sarcastic purpose to imply that the first king in history was himself but a rebel It is as though he were flinging back the charge so often brought against his own political party, that they were rebellious in their resistance to Charles I

38-62 Cf the account of the building of the Tower of Babel in *Gen* xi. 2-9 M follows the original very closely We should note that the Bible does not directly associate Nimrod with the building of the Tower of Babel, it only states (*Gen* x 19) that Babel was one of his capitals The view which M has followed is a later belief, given by Josephus (*Antiquities*, I iv 2) The tradition of Nimrod's connection with Babel or Babylon survives in the name of the great

temple tower *Birs Nimrud*, remains of which still exist. This temple was long identified with the Tower of Babel, but the latter was at Babylon (*Gen* xi 9), whereas the *Birs Nimrud* lay some miles away.

41, 42 Cf Josephus (speaking of the Tower), "it was built of burnt brick, cemented together with mortar, made of bitumen, that it might not be liable to admit water," *Antiquities*, I i 3.

41 *the plain*, i.e. in Mesopotamia, bordered by the Euphrates *bituminous*. The mineral pitch called *bitumen* (or *asphalt*) abounded in Babylonia, and was employed, it is thought, in the buildings of the city of Babylon. The Heb word translated *slime* in *Gen* xi 3 signified this asphaltic or bituminous substance, as M evidently knew, cf "asphaltic slime," v 298. The Dead Sea was called the "asphaltic lake or pool"—cf I 411, and v 562, "that bituminous lake"—from the bitumen floating on the surface.

42 *the mouth of Hell*. "This 'bituminous gurge' the poet calls 'the mouth of hell,' not strictly speaking, but by the same sort of figure by which the ancient poets called TANTARUS or AVERNUS the jaws and gate of Hell. Virgil, *Georg* IV 467, *Tanarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis*"—Newton. Cf, too, *fauces graecolentis Aeterni* (in the passage describing the descent of Aeneas to Hades, *Aen* VI 201). M has the same allusion in v 298—300.

43 *cast*, plan. "he casts to change his proper shape," III 634.

45—51 See *Gen* xi 4—5.

53 *spirit*, a monosyllable, as often in M and Shak, cf 488, 523.

55 Sylvester (*Du Bartas*) describes the confusion of Tongues as "a jangling noise." He was a poet whose works Milton studied very closely. Numerous traces of his influence are found throughout Milton's poems, one of the earliest, the paraphrase of *Psalms* cxxxvi, has phrases previously used by Sylvester.

59, 60 "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision," *Psa* II 4. So *Psa* cxxxvii 13 *hubbub*, see G.

62 Cf *Gen* xi 9, "Therefore is the name of it called Babel," where the margin has, "That is, *Confusion*." Cf also Josephus, *Antiquities*, I iv 3, "The place wherein they built the tower is now called *Babylon*, because of the confusion of that language which they readily understood before, for the Hebrews mean by the word *Babel*, *Confusion*." It appears, however, that "the native etymology (of *Babylon*) is *Bab-il*, 'the gate of the god *Il*,' or perhaps more simply 'the gate of God'" (*Smith's Bible Dict*)

73, 74 Compare the reasons for the building of the Tower that Josephus gives "He (Nimrod) said he would be avenged on God, if he should have a mind to drown the world again, for that he would build a tower too high for the waters to be able to reach! and that he would avenge himself on God for destroying their forefathers," *Antiquities*, I iv 2

73 *intends*, aims at, threatens

76—8 The knowledge of physics which the lines reveal is not very appropriate in the mouth of Adam (Keightley)

77 *pine*, a trans vb, cf the p p in *P R* I 325, "pined with hunger" So *Rich II* v 1 77, "when sickness pines the clime"

78 *breath bread* M is fond of these verbal quibbles and jingling sounds See vi 625, 626, note, and cf I 642, "which tempted our attempt," vi 648, "Fruitless to me, though fruit be here to excess," and *S A* 1134, "magician's art Armed thee or charmed thee"

81 *affecting to subdue*, aiming at subduing, commonly used, like Lat *affectare*, with a direct accus of the thing aimed at Cf II 206, "affecting Godhead," and 2 *Hen VI* iv 7 104, "have I affected wealth?"

83—90 For the association of freedom with reason cf ia 351, 352, "God left free the will, for what obeys Reason is free, and reason he made right," and II 108—110

85 *twinned*, i e closely united, reason is the very counterpart of liberty Shak several times uses the vb *twin* in much the same way—to express close connection, cf *Coriol* iv 4 15, "who twin, as 'twere, in love unseparable," or close resemblance, cf *Cymbeline*, I 6 35, "the twinned stones upon the beach" (i e exactly alike) *Twinned* (=twisted together) is a very pointless correction *dividual*=separate, cf VII 382

95, 96 The form in which the thought is conveyed seems a reminiscence of *St Matt* xviii 7, "it must needs be that offences come" In iv 393 M calls necessity "the tyrant's plea"

97 *decline*, fall, used of moral deterioration Cf *Hamlet*, I 5 50, "to decline upon a wretch," and Tennyson, in *Locksley Hall*, "having known me to decline On a range of lower feelings"

100, 101 See note on xi 797—9

101—4 *irreverent son*, i e Ham, the father of Canaan Cf *Gen* ix 21—25, especially verse 25, "And he (Noah) said, Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren"

108, 109 Cf xi 316, 317

111 The Scripture often speaks of the Jews as a people 'peculiar to' i.e. specially belonging to, and favoured by, God, cf *Deut* xiv 2, *Ps* cxxxv 4 M discusses this point in *Christian Doct* xvii

112 The allusion is to Abraham, *faithful*, see 152

114 *this side*, i.e. eastward of, cf *Josh* xxiv 2, 3 We may remember that the word 'ibri, whence *Hebrew*, which was first used of Abraham (*Gen* xiv 13), signifies 'living across,' i.e. across, or east of, the Euphrates It was the term applied by the Canaanites to the Jewish immigrants into Canaan

115 *bred up* M infers this from *Josh* xxiv 2, where we are told that "Terah, the father of Abraham served other gods" Cf *Christian Doct* xvii, "He called Abraham from his father's house who was even an idolater at the time"

117 i.e. during the life-time of Noah If we compare the chronology given in *Gen* xi, from which it appears that Terah was born 222 years after the Flood, with *Gen* ix 28, we find that Noah lived many years after the birth of Terah, and we have just seen, from *Josh* xxiv 2, that Terah worshipped false gods Hence Milton is correct when he says that idolatry began "while yet the patriarch lived"

118 Cf *S A* 1140, "My trust is in the Living God," the phrase is frequent in the Bible—cf *Heb* iii 12, 1 *Tim* iv 10

120, 121 *Gen* xii 1—3, *Acts* vii 2 In *visions* (see xi 377) the highest type of revelation was thought to be made, we often find the word contrasted with *dream* Cf *Com* 457, "in *clear dream* and *solemn vision*," and Cowley's *Essays* (p 21, Pitt Press ed), "I fell at last into this vision, or if you please to call it but a dream, I shall not take it ill, because the father of poets tells us, even dreams, too, are from God" (where the reference is the same as in l 611—see note there)

127, 128 "By faith Abraham went out, not knowing whither he went," *Heb* xi 8

129 Considered by Keightley to be incorrect, on the ground that Haran was the place where Abraham received the command from God to journey to Canaan, see *Gen* xii 1—4 But M is thinking of *Acts* vii 2—4, where it is said that "The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham" *before* he came "out of the land of the Chaldeans"

130 *Ur*, the capital of southern Chaldea, and a great commercial mart, it then lay close to the mouth of the Euphrates, as at that time the waters of the Persian Gulf extended much further inland than now (See Ragozin's *Chaldea*, p 200 *et seq*) But from the reference to Haran we may conjecture that M supposed Ur to be in

Upper Mesopotamia, i.e. at least 400 miles north of its real site. In this he only followed a view formerly held by many scholars, and suggested by *Acts vii 2-4*, the Scriptural passage, as we have said, on which, mainly, this couplet is based. Even in some modern editions of Milton one still comes across the old theory that Ur is to be identified with Orfah = the Greek Edessa, in northern Mesopotamia.

130, 131 Two things are noticeable (i) M speaks as though Abraham's journey were continuous, and his stay at Haran a mere episode, whereas the Scripture implies that he dwelt there some time (*Gen xi 31, Acts vii 4*), (ii) *passing the ford* must refer to the crossing of the Euphrates, and we can scarce resist the conclusion that M in correctly placed the site of Haran, or Charran (the *Carrae* of the famous Parthian victory), on the western bank of the Euphrates. We must remember that in the 17th century scholars had to depend on very imperfect maps, travellers' narratives and such like doubtful evidence.

132 *servitude*, servants abstract for concrete, cf XI 275, note.

135-151 In these lines M first traces the journey of Abraham to the Promised Land (cf *Gen xii 5, 6*), then sketches in outline the geographical position and extent of the Land, glancing at a number of Scriptural texts which suit his purpose, and finally shows what was the scope of the Promise made to Abraham.

139-141 The four boundaries are —(i) the town (or district) of Hamath, in Upper Syria, lying in the valley of the Orontes, afterwards called *Epiphaneia* by Antiochus Epiphanes, and now again known as *Hamah*, expressly mentioned as the northern limit of Canaan in *Numb xxxiv 7, 8* (ii) the Desert of Zin, forming part of the southern frontier of the Holy Land (*Numb xxxiv 3*) (iii) Mt Hermon, 'the lofty peak,' Milton was bound to introduce the name, as the mountain was the most conspicuous in Palestine, and the great landmark of the Israelites. But in Scripture Hermon is associated with—not the eastern but—the *northern* boundary, cf *Ps lxxxix 12*, "The north and the south thou hast created them. Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name." Perhaps this was why M afterwards added that the Jordan was the "true limit eastward" (iv) the "western sea," i.e. the Mediterranean, cf *Numb xxxiv 6*, "ye shall even have the great sea for a border this shall be your west border."

143, 144 Mt Carmel is one of the most striking geographical features of Palestine, being the only headland which breaks the coast line.

144. *double founted*, probably an allusion to the old belief that the Jordan, in its upper course, was formed by the union of two streams

thought to give the river its name, these were the *Dan* and the *Jor* (whence *Jordan*), and their supposed place of confluence lay near Cæsarea Philippi. In reality, *Jordan* is from a Heb. root 'to flow down, descend,' and the sources of the river must be looked for in the water shed of Libanus on the one hand, and of Mt. Hermon on the other. Sylvester, however, had mentioned its "double source," and, as Todd pointed out, the traveller George Sandys speaks of it as "seeming to arise from *Jor* and *Dan*, two not far distant *fontaines*." For myself, I believe that Sandys was Milton's main authority for the topography of Palestine. His *Travels*, first published in 1615, were very popular, often reprinted, and often quoted. They contain a vivid and detailed account of the Holy Land. Milton mentions Sandys in *Of Reformation*, *P. W.* II. 380, and borrowed from him (almost certainly) the account of the rites of Moloch in *Nat. Ode*, 107 and *P. L.* I. 392, and in the *Introduction* to *Samson Agonistes* I have given my reasons for thinking that the description of the amphitheatre in which the catastrophe of the play occurs was inspired by a passage of the same writer—see *S. A.*, Pitt Press ed. pp. xxviii, 130. It is quite likely therefore that he was responsible for *double fountained* here.

145, 146 *true limit*. The Jordan is mentioned as the eastern boundary of Canaan in *Numb.* xxxiv. 12, and, as a matter of fact, nine tribes and a half of the Israelites dwelt west of it, only two tribes and a half (Manasseh) on the eastern bank. The river is constantly spoken of as a boundary, cf. such phrases as 'over Jordan,' 'beyond Jordan.'

his sons, the allusion is to 1 *Chron.* v. 23, "And the children of the half tribe of Manasseh increased from Bishan unto Senir, and unto mount Hermon." *Senir* is the Amorite name for Mt. Hermon, cf. *Deut.* iii. 9. But in the verse just cited from 1 *Chron.* *Senir* and Hermon are distinguished, so that *Senir* may also have been applied to some range of hills running off from the great mountain in an eastern direction, and this, apparently, was Milton's idea, cf. "long ridge," which would be a very inappropriate description of Hermon. We know that Manasseh spread eastward far beyond their original territory—even over the deserts between Palestine and the Euphrates.

152—163 Cf. *Gen.* xxi. 5, also *Gal.* iii. 9, "they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham." The historical allusion in the lines is, of course, to Jacob's going down to Egypt at the bidding of Joseph—*Gen.* xli. xlii.

157, 158 Cf. Vergil's *septemgenium trepida ostia Nilus*, *Æn.* vi. 800. The allusion to its seven mouths is frequent.

167 *of guests slaves* An imitation of the Greek use of ἐκ to signify change from one condition to another, cf the oft quoted τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδουρκότος, Soph, O T 454, or Demosthenes, ἐλευθερὸς ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλουσιὸς ἐκ πτωχοῦ γεγονώς. So *et* in Lat, cf Horace's *ex humilis felens*, or Cic, *De Orat Part* 17, *nihil est enim tam miserabile quam ex beato miser*—and *De Rep* I 45, *ex rege dominus*. M has the idiom both in verse and prose, cf λI 56, 57, IV 153, "of pure now purer air Meets his approach," also *Tenure of Kings*, "raised them to be high and rich of poor and base," *P W* II 47. I doubt whether any other English writer of repute uses the idiom.

172 "And they spoiled the Egyptians," *Exod* XII 36

173 *denies*, refuses, cf *Lear*, II 4 89, "Deny to speak with me?" The account of the Plagues is based on *Exod* VII—XII

180 *emboss*, cover with swellings, cf *As You Like It*, II 7 67, "embossed sores," and *Lear*, II 4 127, "A plague sore, an embossed carbuncle," i.e. protuberant. Cf *Fr bosse*, a lump

181 *rend*. Cf *Hamlet*, II 2 509, "the dreadful thunder Doth rend the region" (i.e. air)

185—8 An echo of I 338—343, where the companies of rebellious angels are likened, for their numbers, to the "pitchy cloud of locusts" that "darkened all the land of Nile." Cf also Sylvester, *Du Bartas*, "Then the *Thrice Sacred* with a sable Cloud Of horned *Locusts* doth the Sun becloud," Grosart's ed I 189

188 *palpable*, "which may be felt," *Exod* X. 21, cf "palpable obscure," II 406, and "darkness visible," I 63. Dryton had used the phrase "darknesse palpable," and the translators of the A.V. speak, in their *Preface*, of "thick and palpable clouds of darkness." Without doubt, the original of all these passages was the Vulgate rendering of *Exod* X. 21, which runs—*tenebrae tam densae ut palpari queant* (From Newton's note)

191 *the river dragon* i.e. Pharaoh. The First Ed has *this* instead of *the*. Compare *Ezek* XXIX 3, "I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers." *Dragon* (= *draco* in the Vulgate, and δράκων in the Septuagint) is the translation in several places, e.g. *Ps* LXXIV 13, of the Heb word *tannin*, applied to any monster, cf *Job* VII 12 and *Ps* XCI 13, where the R. V. substitutes *serpent*.

197 Cf Milton's paraphrase on *Ps* CXIV, "Why turned Jordan toward his crystal fountains?", and that on *Ps* CXXXVI, "The floods stood still, like walls of glass, While the Hebrew bands did pass."

200 *Saint*. M is very fond of this word, perhaps because *Saints*

was the name by which many of the Republican Independents called themselves Used often with the sense 'holy man' in the Epistles of St Paul, e.g. in 2 Cor 1 1, *Ephes* 1. 1, *Philip* 1 1

201—14 *Exod* xiii 21, 22, xiv 1—29

210 *craze*, break, smash, only here and *S A* 571 See G

211 A reminiscence of the first book, l 338

213 *embattled*, set in battle array, cf *Henry V* iv 2 14, "the English are embattled" Often in Shakespeare and *M battle*=an army, cf *Rich III* v 3 88, "prepare thy battle"

214—219 *Exod* xiii 17, 18 The march of the Israelites was—first, from Rameses to Succoth, thence to Etham, and then southwards, through the wilderness west of the Red Sea Their *readiest way* from Succoth would have been by the north east route, along the coast of the Mediterranean, but this would have brought them into the country of the warlike Philistines In l 215 *from the shore* refers, obviously, to the Red Sea In l 216 *the wild Desert* seems to be a general term comprehending all the desert parts through which they advanced to Canaan, such as the wilderness of Shur and Sin and Sinai

219 *return*, cause to return, often a trans vb in M

220 See XI 798 (note), and cf the passage quoted there from *S A* 268—271 We have the opposite sentiment in II 255—7

"Free and to none accountable, preferring

Hard liberty before the easy yoke

Of servile pomp"

Sallust makes Æmilius Lepidus say—*accipite olum cum servitio mihi potior visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio* (in the fragments of the *Histories*) Sallust was one of Milton's favourite authors, "I prefer him" (wrote M in 1657) "to any of the Latin historians"—Letter to Lord Henry De Bras

220—2 *more sweet*, i.e. than liberty, the sense, I think, is—'noble men and ignoble alike, if untrained in arms, prefer life to freedom, except in cases where mere rashness transports them from their usual characters'

224—6 Alluding to the "seventy men of the elders of the people," whom Moses was directed to associate with himself in the government of the Israelites (*Numb* xi 16—24, *Exod* xxiv), in which Council some scholars have seen the beginnings of the Jewish *Sanhedrim* There may also be a glance at *Exod* xviii, where, on the advice of Jethro, Moses delegates his *judicial* authority in minor cases to the tribal heads, who "judged the people at all seasons"

227—30 *Exod* xix See xi 73—6, note, and cf the *Doct of Divorce*, "Did God for this come down and cover the mount of Sinai with his glory, uttering in thunder those his sacred ordinances," *J W* III. 250. *vey*, i.e. with smoke and clouds (*Exod* xix 16, 18), says Newton; but perhaps it is only an 'epithet of adornment,' like *hoary* (i.e. with age)

228 *Te deservant* Needlessly changed to *him* by Bentley, the absolute case in L is nominative M, however, is not consistent, in vii 142 he writes "us dispossessed," and in *S A* 463, "me overthrown," which may be datives, i.e. survivals of the O E use of the dative as the absolute case, or direct imitations of the Lat ablative absolute See note on *S A* 463

229 *trunfts* In the First Ed *trunfts*, and some editors (e.g. Keightley) make it a plural—*trunfts*; but the passage in *Exod* shows that they are wrong (Bradshaw)

233 i.e. of the Seed *destined to bruise*

235—8. *Exod* xx 19, 20

238 *what they brought* So the Second Ed, the First reads "he grants *them* their desire" The later reading has the advantage that *instructed* in 239 can agree with *they*

239—41. Cf 310, note, and xi 33, 34

241—3 "For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you," *Acts* iii 22, where the reference is to *Deut* xviii 15—19

249 *precept*, command "do not exceed the prescript of this roll," *Antony and C* III 8 5 So in *S A* 308

250. *cedar* Most editors consider this a mere oversight, as though M were thinking of the Temple and had forgotten that shittim wood was employed in the construction of the Tabernacle But may not M have thought that the wood called *shittim* was some kind of cedar (though scholars now identify it with the acacia)?

253, 254 Referring to the two images of Cherubim, overlaid with gold, which were placed, with expanded wings, over the mercy seat that covered the ark (*1 Kings* vi) The figures symbolised the guardian powers that drove off evil spirits, see G

254—6 "That the seven lamps signified the seven planets, and that therefore the lamps stood slope wise, as it were to express the obliquity of the zodiac, is the gloss (i.e. interpretation) of Josephus, from whom probably Milton borrowed it" (Newton) See xi 247

256—8 *Exod* xl 34—8, cf i 333 This is the allusion in *S A* 1673, "In Silo, his bright sanctuary," and the *Animadversions*, "the

redoubled brightness of thy deere day cloud, that now covers thy Tabernacle," *P H* III 71.

229 "Mine angel shall go before thee, and bring thee in unto the Amorites, and the Hittites .," *Lael* xxiii 23

263—7 *Job* x 12, 13 This is one of the subjects mentioned in the Cambridge MSS, among the list of schemes of Milton's great poem, see *Introduction*

267 *Israel*, the title was first applied to Jacob, *Gen* xxxii 28 It means 'prince or soldier of God'

274 Alluding to the Serpent's false promise, "your eyes shall be opened," *Gen* iii 5

283 *argue* *sint*, prove so many sins to exist *argue*=show, prove, Lat *arguo*, is common in M (cf *S A*. 1193, "which argued me no foe"), and Shal (cf *2 Hen II* iv 1 160, "That argues but the shame of your offence") The sentiment of the whole line is that expressed by Tacitus, *Annals* viii —*corruptum est reipublice plurimum leges* (Peck)

287 *evince*, demonstrate Cf Burton, *Anatomy*, "Anon made fishes follow him, which, as common experience evinceeth, are much affected with music"

287—306 This is one of those theological passages into which Milton distils the doctrines of a number of texts (as interpreted by himself), the texts glanced at being *Acts* iii 20, iv 22—24, v 1, 17, 21, vii 7, 8, viii 15, x 5, *Heb* vii 18, 19, ix 13, 14, x 1, 4, 5, and *Galatians* iii 11

297—9 The sense is—"the law can not appease the conscience, nor can man perform "the moral part" of the law'

307—9 Moses died in the land of Moab, in sight of the Promised Land, *Deut* xxxiv The passage is well illustrated by the *Christian Doct* xlii "The imperfection of the law was manifested in the person of Moses himself, for Moses, who was a type of the law, could not bring the children of Israel into the land of Canaan, that is, into eternal rest, but an entrance was given to them under Joshua, or Jesus."

310, 311 *Joshua*, 'the Saviour,' is the same word as *Jesus*, in the Septuagint Joshua is called 'Ἰησοῦς Other forms are *Jehoshua*, *Heshea* and *Oshea*, and *Hosanna* (a cry for help) is from the same stem meaning 'to save' Joshua is treated as a type of Christ (cf *Hebrews* iv 8), the points of resemblance being many, and perhaps that which M specially refers to in the words his "office bearing" is, that as Joshua led the Jews through the wilderness and brought them to the Land of Promise, so Christ brings men, after their journey through the world, into the

presence of God, as being their Mediator (cf xi 33—44) and Advocate (From Bishop Pearson, as quoted in the Article on *Joshua* in Smith's *Bible Dict*)

311. *quell*, crush utterly; a stronger word than, see G

322. *shall receive*, i.e. by the mouth of the prophet, Nathan—
2 Sam vii 16.

324, 325 i.e. 'all the prophets (cf 243) shall sing, or foretell, the same, viz. that there shall rise etc.,' *prophecy* being the abstract for concrete. Cf xi 275, note M is thinking of passages like *Isai* xi 10, *Ps* lxxxix 36, 37

332 *son*, Solomon, who built the Temple, see 1 *Kings* vi., vii,
2 *Chron* iii, iv

337, 338 i.e. the faults of the kings added to the sum total of their people's sins *popular* is a dissyllable, as usually in M, by elision of *u*

342 *saw'st*, not literally, the angel had only related the event

344—7 The seventy years of Captivity, foretold by Jeremiah (xxv 12), dated from B C 606 to B C 536

348—50 The 'Kings' are Cyrus, who first proclaimed the decree for the rebuilding of the Temple, and his successors Artaxerxes and Darius The time occupied in the work was from B C 536 to B C. 515 This period of Jewish history is dealt with in the Book of *Ezra*

353—5 A covert attack on the Anglican clergy, see L 507

353—6. Alluding to the struggle in the 2nd cent B C for the high priesthood between Jason and Menelaus (i.e. Joshua and Onias—each had adopted a Greek name at a time when Greek influence was affecting the Jews very strongly) Jason obtained the office from the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes, *circa* 175 B C, afterwards it was transferred to Menelaus, 172 B C The conflicts that arose between the rival high-priests gave Antiochus an excuse for assaulting Jerusalem and plundering the Temple, 170 B C Two years later, 168 B C, his troops again occupied the city, the Temple was desecrated, "an idol altar" was set up, and the Jews were forbidden the observance of their own religion These events are related in 1, 2 *Maccabees*, and by Josephus

356, 357 *they seize*, *they*=the Asmonean family, in whose line the office of high-priest descended, B C 153—B C 35 The first of the race to assume the title of king was Aristobulus I, B C 107 Their sovereignty ended with the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey, 63 B C

David's sons The last ruler of Israel who could claim direct descent from David was Zerubbabel, under whose leadership the Jews returned from the Babylonish Captivity in 536 B C The names of his descendants we are told in the genealogies of Christ (given from somewhat

different points of view) by St Matthew (i) and St Luke (iii) That of St Matthew "exhibits the successive heirs of the kingdom (of David) ending with Christ," i.e. it shows us to whom Milton refers when he speaks of "David's sons" They, he implies, were the rightful heirs, though they were not "regarded"

358 a *stranger*, i.e. Antipater an *Idumean* (the Greek form of *Edomite*), who was made governor of Jerusalem by Pompey in 61 B.C., and afterwards procurator of Judæa by Julius Cæsar, 47 B.C. His second son was Herod the Great, who was appointed king of Judæa by the Roman Senate in 38 B.C. During his reign Christ was born

360 *barred*, deprived of, he purposely uses a legal term

360—7 This passage should be compared with the *Nativity Ode*, and the similar account of Christ's birth in *P R* I 242—54 The verbal resemblances are numerous See *St Matt* II, *St Luke* II

366, 367 *thither*, i.e. to Bethlehem, and M speaks as though the song of the angels was heard there—not "in the field," which, of course, would be a deviation from the Scripture

367, 368 *squadroned*, in troops, cf *Nat Ode*, 21 *squadron* = O F *esquadron*, from Late Lat. *exquadrare carol*, see G and cf Spenser, *F Q* III 8 43, "Fit song of Angels caroled to bee"

371 *Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astris*—*En* I 287 (Hume)

373 Cf the picture of Dalila in *S A* 728, "Lil e a fair flower surcharged with dew, she weeps." Fr *surcharger* = to overload.

381 *capital*, deadly, fatal, cf "my capital secret," *S A* 394 Some editors think that in each passage there is a quibble on this and the other sense—'pertaining to the head,' Lat *caput* Scan as a dissyllable, *cap'tal*, as always in M

386—8 Cf *P R* I 173—5, where the song is raised in Heaven
"Victory and triumph to the Son of God,
Now entering his great duel, not of arms,
But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles"

392 i.e. 'whose fall did not disable him from giving thee, etc.'

393 *recure*, heal, not elsewhere in M, but common in Elizabethan E. Cf Shak. *Venus and A* 465, "a smile recures the wounding of a frown" So *unrecuring* = incurable, *Titus Andronicus*, III 1 90

401 *appaid*, satisfied, paid, often in Spenser, cf *F Q* II 12 28, "For she is inly nothing ill apayd," once in Shak, *Lucrece*, 914, "thou art well appaid"

403, 404 "Love is the fulfilling of the law," *Rom* XIII 10, and verse 8

406 "It is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," *Gal* III. 13, the reference being to *Deut* XXI 23, that passage, however, seems to imply crucifixion *after* death, i.e. as a mark of disgrace. It was not only among the Jews that crucifixion was held in the utmost horror, many passages show that the Romans regarded it as the greatest of degradations—a *servile supplicium* from which citizens and even freedmen were exempt. See Horace, *Sat* I 3 8, Juvenal, VI 218.

408 *that*, i.e. who shall believe that.

410 *to save*, probably dependent on *believe* 'who shall believe his merits—not their own works, though done in conformity with the law—to save them'. The passage is commonly explained so, but it is obviously very awkward, as the verb *believe* has already taken two different constructions. If any change were permissible, I would read *work*, taking it as a verb *to save* would then depend on *work*, and the sense would be, 'who shall believe that his merits, not theirs, work, i.e. are efficacious, to save them'. That is to say, their merits, though the law may approve them, are only valuable through the mediation of Christ. The *s* in *works* might have been due to *merits* in the previous verse. I must confess that there is one serious objection to this interpretation, viz. that it loses the antithesis between *faith* (l. 409) and *works*.

415—7 "Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, nailing it to his cross," *Colos* II 14.

420, 421 "Death hath no more dominion over him" (Christ), *Rom* VI 9.

424 *Thy ransom*, so the First and Second Eds, many later texts needlessly change to *the*.

427 Cf. XI 64, "truth and faithful works," and see 410, note.

434. *or theirs*, i.e. or the heel of those whom *a death like sleep*, changed by some of the earlier editors to *a deathlike sleep*. But this reading, apart from the fact that it is unsupported by the First and Second Eds, exactly reverses Milton's meaning—that the "temporal death" of the redeemed is not an everlasting sleep, but one from which there shall be an awakening (*οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα*, I *Cor* XV 51). Milton discusses the question in the *Christian Doctrine*, XIII, from which it is clear that by "temporal death" he signified the death of the body.

435 *wafting*, passage, *waft* was generally used of carrying, or journeying, over the sea. Cf. II 1042, "wafts on the calmer wave," and *Lyc* 164. *waftage*=passage by water, *Comedy of E* IV 1 95.

442 *profluent* "It was the poet's opinion that baptism should take place in running water" (Keightley). The passage in which M. expressed this view occurs in his treatise on *Christian Doctrine*, XVIII,

in which he speaks of baptism as a sacrament "wherein the bodies of believers who engage themselves to purity of life, are immersed in running water, to signify their regeneration in the Holy Spirit."

446—65 These lines are a mosaic of texts, cf *Gal* iii. 7, 16, *Rom* ix. 16, *Colos* ii. 12, *Ephes* iv. 8—10, 1. 20, 21, *Jude* xxiv. 26, xxi. 27, *Rev* xx. 2

452 Seen *triumphing*, as in *I* 123, so sometimes in *Shak.* cf *Juvenal*, 1388, "You might behold, triumphing in their faces"

454, 455 *the Serpent*, Satan, so called because it was in the guise of a serpent that he had tempted Eve. In the *Revelation* xii, *dragon* has the same sense, cf *I* 191, note on *serp dragon*

Prince of air This title of Satan is illustrated by *P. R.* i. 40—46, where he summons an assembly of his followers "in mid air," and addresses them thus

"O ancient powers of air, and this wide world,
(For much more willingly I mention air,
This our old conquest, than remember Hell,
Our hated habitation) well ye know" etc

Again in *P. R.* ii. 116, "the middle region of thick air" is their council-chamber, and he bids them beware lest they should be thrust from "these mild seats" (i.e. realms of air) down into Hell. No doubt, the origin of the whole idea is that passage in the *Eph. viii* (ii. 2) in which Satan is referred to as "the prince of the power of the air" (which verse M. himself cites in his enquiry into the attributes of Satan, *Christian Doct.* ix). We may remember, too, the medieval belief that the spirits or *demons* of air (see *H. P. n.* 93, 94) were the fallen angels. M. adopted this view, *P. R.* ii. 124 iv. 201

in chains Apart from *Rev* xx. 1, 2, M. is thinking of *Jude*, 6, "reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment," and 2 *Pet* ii. 4 *his realm* it looks as if *realm* ought to refer to *air*, Satan having just been called "prince of air," but what follows—"there leave"—shows that hell must be meant. Cf *Rev* xx. 3, "cast him into the bottomless pit," and "*under darkness*" in the verse from *Jude*. So in the *Nat. Ode*, 168, "The old Dragon *under ground*, In straiter limits bound"

458—60 Cf *III* 323 *et seq.*, *Nat. Ode*, 155—66

460 "To judge the quick and the dead," *Apostles' Creed*

467 *period*, end, conclusion "the period of thy tyranny approacheth," 1 *Hen VI* iv. 2. 17

477—493 Many texts are alluded to e.g. *Rom* v. 20, 2 *Cor* iv.

15 ("that the abundant grace might redound to the glory of God"), *Luke* xiv 49, *Gal* v 6 ("faith which worketh by love"), *John* xv 26 ("when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you"), xvi 3, *Ephes* vi 11 ("put on the whole armour of God"), 13 (almost the same words), and 16 ("to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked"), and *Ps* lvi 11

495 Cf *S A* 664, "Unless he feel within Some source of consolation from above"

497-502 See *Acts* 11.

505 Cf *S A* 597, "My race of glory run, and race of shame" It is St Paul's favourite metaphor of athletes competing on the *stadium*, no doubt, M remembered passages like *Heb* xii 1, *1 Cor* ix 24.

507-11 "For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock," *Acts* xxi 29 There is the same allusion in *IV* 193, and in the sonnet on Cromwell he speaks of the "hurling wolves, whose gospel is their maw"

508-30 This passage, though it nominally traces (from Milton's point of view) the history of the Catholic Church from Apostolic times, is really a satire on the clergy of the Established Church in England—an epitome of all that was said against them in the 17th century by their foes—an abridgement of the charges which are scattered *passim* through Milton's prose works A close parallel is the long piece (113-131) of invective, thinly disguised under pastoral allegory, in *Lycidas* Time had intensified Milton's opinions It is to be remembered that he writes as a bitter partizan, and we may wonder why the Licensor, Chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury, did not strike out the passage. Probably his reading of the poem stopped short of this book

511 M often taunts the clergy with avarice and desire of preferment Cf *Apol for Smectymnus*, "they, for lucre, used to creep into the Church," *P W* III 164, and *Lyc* 114, 115, where the charge is placed in the mouth of St Peter—in allusion (as here) to *1 Peter* v 2, "Feed the flock not for filthy lucre" See *Lycidas*, pp 142, 143

511-14 In his prose works M frequently depreciates the writings of the Fathers the "traditions" of the Church as to doctrine and forms, are in his eyes "a broken reed" (*Areopagitica*)

519, 520. In the *Christian Doct* M speaks of "that spiritual illumination which is common to all" (*P W* IV 79), and in *The Likeliest Means* says, "the Scriptures (are) translated into every vulgar tongue, as being held in main matters of belief and salvation plain and easy to the poorest, and such no less than their teachers have the Spirit to guide them in all truth" (*P W* III 23)

575 *the sum*, the sum-total of wisdom, Lat *summa*.

581—4 Alluding to 2 *Pet* i 5—7, 1 *Cor* xiii

582 *answerable*, corresponding to, cf *S A* 615, and *Areopagitica*, "a virtue answerable to your highest actions"

583—5 *love charity* Cf the *Tetrachordon*, "Christ having interpreted the fulfilling of all through charity, hath in that respect set us over law, in the free custody of love," *P W* III 323 See G under *charity*

586, 587 The thought is anticipated in IV 75, where Satan says of himself, "Which way I fly is hell myself am hell" Sir Thomas Browne wrote, "every devil is an hell unto himself, he holds enough of torture in his own ribs," *Religio Med* LI, and Marlowe in *Faustus* made Mephistopheles reply to the question how he had escaped from hell—"Why, this is hell, nor am I out of it" Cf I 244, 245

588, 589 *top of speculation*, hill whence we have looked as from a watch tower (Lat *specula*) Cf the description of it in VI 377—80, and *P R* IV 236, "Look once more ere we leave this specular mount" Shak uses *speculation*=the act of watching, *Hen V* IV 2 31

592, 593 See VI 120, 121

602 "And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years," *Gen* v 5

608 In the *Argument* of the book Adam "wakens Eve"

611 Cf *Iliad* I 63, καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἔσσι, and the passage from Cowley cited *ante* (I 121, note), also XI 377, "the visions of (i e sent by) God"

615 Newton pointed out the allusion to Vergil, *Ecl* III 52, *In me mora non erit ulla* Eve has laid to heart the words of Michael, XI 290—3.

627 *station*, post of watching, see G

629, 630 M used the simile in IV 179, 180, comparing Satan's stealthy course through the garden to "a black mist low creeping" *marsh*, marsh, see G

632 *advanced*, raised aloft the word was specially used of uplifting a banner, cf *Romeo*, V 3 36, "death's pale flag is not advanced there." Shak often applies it to a sword, perhaps by metaphor, cf *Coriol* I 6 61, "filling the air with swords advanced"

634 Dunster observed that the simile may be an echo of Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, which speaks of the entrance to Eden as guarded by "A waving sword, whose body shined bright, Like flaming comet in the midst of night." In II 708—10 M compares the figure of Satan, at his meeting with Death, to a comet *which*, referring to the sword

635 *vapour*, heat; cf Horace's *siderum vapor*, *Epodes*, III 15 *Libya* is typical of a hot clime, for the position of *air* between the two qualifying words, see XI 162, note *adust*, scorched, Lat *adustus*, see G Bowle noted that Tasso (*Jerusalem Deliv* VII 52) describes a comet shining *per l'aria adusta* M often mentions Tasso in his prose, and had studied him closely

636 *parch*, M uses it of the drying, withering effect of either cold (cf II 594, *Lyc* 13, "the parching wind") or heat—as here.

637, 638 A reminiscence of *Gen* XIX 16, "And while he (Lot) lingered, the men laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife and they brought him forth" The destruction of the cities of the plain was one of the themes on which Milton thought of founding a poem, the action of a tragedy *Sodom burning* is detailed at great length in the Cambridge MSS

638—40 See XI 118—20, and cf the account of the gate, II 542—8

640. *subjected*, lying below Lat *subjectus*, so *subject* in Spenser, cf *F Q* I II 19, and III 7 4

643 Most editors explain *brand* to mean 'sword,' a sense it often bore in O E, from the flashing of a sword blade Cf Spenser, *F Q*, V I 8, "When so he list in wrath lift up his steely brand" But it seems simpler to take the word in its ordinary sense M is describing the scene as it appeared to Adam and Eve at a distance, when the waving sword must have looked like a veritable fire brand or torch The old use of *brand*=sword is revived in Tennyson, cf the *Passing of Arthur*, "shiver'd brands that once had fought with Rome," and "the brand Excalibur"

648, 649 This couplet has been much discussed since Addison proposed to omit it on the inadequate grounds that the lines strike a note of sadness, whereas an epic is supposed to require a cheerful ending, and that they are less impressive than the preceding couplet Peck proposed to transpose 646, 647 and 648, 649 making the poem conclude with "and Providence their guide." Bentley, by way of crown to his emendatory toils, composed a distich, "as close as may be to the author's words, and entirely agreeable to his scheme" But the lines stand in the First and Second Eds, and are therefore as authentic as any other part of the poem, and, apart from their entirely Miltonic style, their calm beauty is appropriate to the feeling of mingled resignation and reluctance with which we may suppose that the exiles left their Paradise

GLOSSARY.

abyss, vi 555, Lat *abyssus*, Gk ἄβυσσος—from ἀ neg prefix, and βυθός, depth (akin to E *bathos*) The oldest forms in E were *abyme* and *abysme*, from Fr *abisme*=Low Lat *abyssimus*, 'the lowest depth,' an irregular superlative of *abyssus* M always uses *abyss*, Shak always *abysm*, cf *Tempest* I 2 50, *Sonnet*, 112

adust, vi 635, dried, scorched, the pp of the verb *adure*=Lat. *aduro*, cf *adusted*, vi 514 We also find a noun, *adustion* Richard son quotes from Bacon, *Nat Hist* 319, "A degree of heat, which doth neither melt nor scorch, doth mellow and not adure," and Burton's *Anatomy*, "the other, whether it arise from that other melancholy of choler adust, is, if it come by adustion of humours, most part hot and dry "

amain, vi 72, is an intensive word, emphasising the general sense of the clause to 'shut amain,' as in *Lyc* III, is to shut with force to 'come amain' is to come with speed Here it may point to the amount of vapour that rose O E *mægn*=power, from the root whence μέγας, *magnus*

assassin like, xi 219 *assassin* and its derivatives were generally used with the notion of treachery, cf *surprise* in this passage, and *S A* 1109, "assassinated and *betrayed*" Derived, says Skeat, "From Arab *hashishin*, drinkers of hashish, the name of a Sect in the 13th century, the 'Old Man of the Mountain' roused his followers' spirits by help of this drink, and sent them to stab his enemies, esp the leading crusaders" *Hashish*, the drug, is made from a kind of hemp

bevy, vi 582, troop, company, cf *Faerie Q* II 9 34, "A lovely bevy of faire Ladies" Not elsewhere in M, and, perhaps, not used by Shak In *Hamlet*, v 2 197, the First Folio has *Beany* (?bevy), but most texts print the quarto reading *breed* *Henry VIII*, where it occurs (I 4 4), is a doubtful play

carol, \II 367, from O F *carole*=Low Lat *carola*=Lat *corolla*, the connection in sense being, (i) a chain, as of pearls, (ii) a chain dance, i.e. a round dance, (iii) a song accompanying it, (iv) any song—later a Christmas song, cf. Palsgrave, “Carole a song, *carolle*, chanson de Noël”

charity, \II 584 In the 17th cent *charity*, from Lat *carus*, ‘dear,’ still bore the sense ‘love’ or ‘benevolence,’ i.e. the disposition to do good to others Cf. the much disputed chapter (xiii) in 1 Cor., where the R V substitutes *love* for *charity* throughout, the Greek being ἀγάπη (in Vulgate *caritas*) Shak almost always uses *charity*=benevolence, so M in the only other place where it occurs, III 213–6, “where shall we find such *love*? Dwells in all Heaven *charity* so dear?”

cherubim, \I 128, the correct form=Heb *Kherūbhīm*, the plural of *Kherūbh* The oldest forms in English, as still in French, were *Cherubin*, sing., and *Cherubins*, plural Cf. Coverdale, “Thou God of Israel, which dwellest upon Cherubin,” *Isa* xxxvi 16, and Wyclif, “Two Goldun Cherubyns,” *Exod* xxi 18 Later, as in the Bible of 1611, *Cherub*, sing., and *Cherubims*, plural, were used, as being closer to Hebrew M kept *Cherub*, and wrote the true plural *Cherubim* (adopted in the Revised V) *Kherūbh* is said to have come from the Babylonian word for the figure of the winged bull which stood at the door of a house to keep off evil spirits The Jews probably owed it to the Phœnicians

craze, \II 210, a strong word, cf. Cotgrave, “Accrizer To break, burst, crize, bruise, crush” See *S A* 571, *Lear*, III 4 175 From Swedish *krasa*, to break in pieces, Fr *écraiser* coming from the same source, cognates are *crash*, *crack*, *creak*

defend, \I 86, forbid, cf. Sir William Temple, “The use of wine in some places is defended by customs or laws.” This sense is obsolete, except in phrases like “Heaven defend it should be so” Shak uses “God defend,”=forbid, several times, e.g. in *Much Ado*, II 1 98, “God defend the lute should be like the case.” Fr *défendre* has this meaning, public notices often begin *il est défendu* etc

enthral, \II 94, to enslave, *thrall*=Icelandic *þrall*, a serf, Danish *træl*, no doubt *thrall* came into England through the Danes Strictly it meant a ‘runner’—i.e. on messages, the original base being that seen in Gk *τρέχειν*, to run The notion that *thrall* is derived from *thrill*, because the ears of serfs were *thrilled* or *drilled*, i.e. pierced, involves an impossible vowel change

explode, XI 669, used by M in the sense of Lat. *explodo* (from *ex* and *flaudo*), 'to drive off the stage by hissing' Cf x 546, "the applause turned to exploding hiss," and the *Animadversions*, "tyrannies, which God and man are now ready to explode and hiss out of the land," *P IV* III 43 Blount's *Glossographia* (1670) has "explode, publicly to disgrace, or drive out by hissing, or clapping of hands"

exploit, XI 790, from O F *exploit*=Lat. *explicitum*, a thing displayed, cf *espleiten*, to display, *Romaunt of the Rose*, 6177

forgo, XI 541, give up, *for* is an intensive prefix=Germ *ver*, as in *verloren*, cf *forsake* *Forego*=precede is a separate word, *fore* being the A S prep *fore*=before, Germ *vor*, as in *vorgehen*

grain, XI 242, derived from O F *graine*, Lat. *granum*, the Low Latin equivalent for the classical word *coccum* Properly *coccum* meant a 'berry,' but it was specially used of the cochineal insect found upon the scarlet oak in Spain and other Mediterranean countries, this insect being, from its shape, supposed to be a berry From the cochineal insect a certain dye was made, called *coccum*, whence *coccinus*= 'red' In Low Latin *granum* took the place of *coccum*, cf Forcellini, *Fructus quoque cocci, quo pannum tinguntur, granum dicitur* Strictly, therefore, *grain* signified a scarlet dye such as could be extracted from this cochineal insect Cf Cotgrave "Graine the seed of herbs, also grain wherewith cloth is dyed in grain, scarlet die" But Cotgrave also has "Migraine Scarlet, or Purple in graine," and it seems as though the word had lost something of its original sense, and could be applied to deep shades of blue or purple Cf "vest of purple" in this passage, and *Lyc* 142 where, in the first draft of the lines (see Pitt Press ed p 167), *graine* is said of "that sad flowre" the hyacinth, and again, v 285, where the wings of Raphael are "sky-tinctured grain," i e "a cerulean or violet purple, as if dipped in the colours of the sky" (Masson) *Purple suits II Pen* 33, "in a robe of darkest grain." Shak. has "purple in grain," *Midsummer N D* I 2 97, and perhaps *Hamlet*, III 4 90, is another illustration. In *Com* 750 *grain* must bear its earlier notion, 'scarlet'

harald, XI 660, always spelt thus throughout *P L* (cf I 752, II 518), in First and Second Eds M may have been influenced by Italian *araldo*, just as in *Com* 893 he seems to have coined *azurn* from Ital *azzurino* The common form in early E is *heraud* Derived through O F *heraud* and *herault* from O H Germ *Iarnwald*=army-strength, a title for an officer The name *Haro'd* is cognate

harbinger, XI 589, forerunner Cf *Nat Ode*, 49, *P R* I 71 and 277,

where John the Baptist is the harbinger of Christ Bullokar's *Expositor*, 1616, explains, "Harbinger, one that taketh vp lodging for others," i.e. the officer who bore this title went on in advance to procure the night's shelter (*harbourage*) for his master So Florio, 1598, "Foriere, a harbinger for a camp or a prince" In Middle L. spelt *herbergour*, cf. *Canterbury Tales*, 5417, "herbergeours that wenten him before" Middle E. *herber-ve*=modern E. *harbour*, is from Icelandic *herbergi*, an army shelter, cf. Germ. *heer*, an army, and Germ. *bergen*, to shelter For the intrusive *n* in *harbinger*, cf. *messenger*=O. E. *messenger*, *passenger*=O. E. *passager*

hight, M 730, always written thus in M The form is common in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, and survives in New England (*Century Dict.*) The peculiarity of *high th* is that it retains the voiceless *th* of the A. S. word *hlīþa*, represented in modern E. by *t*—*height* For voiceless *th* (that is, *þ* in A. S.) changed to *t*, cf. A. S. *gesith*, later *gesit*, *sith*, now *sight*

hubbub, XII 60, a confused noise, cf. II 951, and *Faerie Q.* III 10 43, "a noyse of many bagpipes shrill, And shrieking Hubbubs" Also written *whoohub*, cf. *Winter's Tale*, IV 4 629, "had not the old man come in with a whoobub against his daughter" (i.e. a clamour) *nubbub*=*hoop-hoop*, reduplicated from *hoop*, a cry of surprise etc., and *hoop* is from the O. F. *houer*, to shout We find the word written with and without the *w*, cf. Cotgrave, "Forhuer To whoope, shout cry whoo whup," whereas the First Folio of Shak. has *hoop* in *Coriol.* IV 5 84, *Hen. V.* II 2 108, and *As You Like It*, III 2 203, "wonderful out of all hooping" A derivative is *whooping* (or *hooping*) cough The duplicate forms come from the habit which grew up in the 17th cent. of prefixing *w* to words beginning with *h* and *r*, cf. *whot*=*hot* in Spenser (*F. Q.* II 9 29)

Can, XI 388 *Kaan*, or *Khan*, was the title of the supreme ruler of China during the reigns of the Mongol Emperors descended from Chinghiz, or Genghis, Khan (the name corrupted into *Cambuscan*—see note on *Il Pen.* 110, Pitt Press ed.) In Elizabethan writers *Kaan* often appears as *Cham*, cf. *Much Ado*, II 1 277, "fetch you a hair off the great Cham's beard" Frequently the Cham is spoken of as the ruler of the district of central Asia vaguely called Tartary Cf. Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe Common Wealth*, 1591 (Hakluyt, I 474 *et seq.*), "The greatest and mightiest of them (the Tartars) is the *Chrim Tartar* (whom some call the *Great Cham*) that lieth South, and Southeastward from *Russia*" Hexham's edition, too, of *Mercator's Atlas* (1636)

describes Tartary as "the Empire of the Grand Cham" Very little was then known about central Asia

listed, XI 866, *list* meant a strip or band of cloth, so that *listed*=arranged in bands, i.e. striped Cf Fr *lisleau* and *lileau* *list*=a catalogue is, strictly, a strip on which names are written

manure, XI 28, from Fr *manœuvre*=Low Lat *manuopera*, 2 working with the hand The original sense was not uncommon in 17th century E, cf Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, II, "It is one thing to set forth what ground lieth unmanured, and another to correct ill husbandry in that which is manured" So Shak in *Othello*, I 3 328 M uses the noun *manuring*=cultivation in IV 628, and the verb often in his prose works

marsh, XII 630, *not* "the old form of *marsh*," separate, though akin *marsh*=O F *maresc*, mod F *marais*,=Low Lat *mariscus* *marsh*=A S *mersc*, but the root is the same, though the words have reached us by different channels Cognates are *mere* (as in *Windermere*) and Germ *meer* Though common in earlier writers, *marsh* was becoming obsolete when M wrote, it only occurs once in the A V, *Ezek* xlvii 11, "the myry places thereof and the marshes thereof shall not be healed," where the Genevan Bible (1562) had the same rendering Baret's *Alvearie* (1580) gives, "A fenne or marise, a moore often drowned with water" See the *Faerie Q* v 10 23 Tennyson revived it, cf *The Dying Swan*, 2, "far through the marsh green and still," and 3, "silvery marsh flowers," also *Mariana*, "The cluster'd marsh-mosses crept"

methought, XI 151, cf *methinks* The lit meaning of these phrases is, "it seems—or seemed—to me" That is, *me* is a dative, and the vb is the pres or pret of the Middle E impersonal vb *pinken*, to seem=A S *pyncan* *me thinks*=A S *me pynceo*, it appears to me Akin, but distinct, is A S *penkan*, to think, Middle *penken* Being similar in form and sense the words were much confused, and gradually the impersonal vb gave way to the personal, except in these phrases *methinks*, *methought* We can still see the distinction in their German cognates *denken* and *dünkt*, 'it seems,' and it was recognised in Milton's time Cf *P R* II 266, "Him thought he by the brook of Cherith stood" Observe that in O E the dative was much used with impersonal verbs, cf Spenser, *Prothail* 60, "Them seem'd they never saw a sight so sayre" Earle notes that Rossetti revived the idiom "Her seem'd she scarce had been a day One of God's choristers," *Blessed Damozel*

mysteries, XII 509, spiritual truths and rites, *mystery* was specially

used of the service of the Holy Communion We find these senses in the *Prayer Book*, cf "By the mystery of thy holy Incarnation," *The Litany*, and, "to exhort you in the mean season to consider the dignity of that holy mystery," *The Communion* Derived from Lat *mysterium* (as used in the Vulgate)=Gk *μυστήριον* which in the *New Test* means a hidden truth specially revealed to men In classical writers *μυστήριον* =a secret rite, wherein only the initiated could join—from *μύω*, to close the eyes or mouth See *Com* 785, "sublime notion and high mystery"

obvious, VI 374, generally used by M in one of the senses of the Lat *obvius* Cf VI 69, "obvious hill"=hill that lies in the way, VIII 504, "not obvious, not obtrusive"=that does not advance to meet you

phrenzy, XI 485, a common spelling, cf Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, "I will craue pardon for my Phrenzie," Arber's ed p 16 or Cowley, "What shall we call this? rashness, or phrensie?" *Essays*, p 58 (Pitt Press ed) The *ph* was due to Lat *phrenesis*, Late Gk *φρένησις* *frenzy*=Middle E *frenesye*, came through O F *frenaisie*

prevement, XI 3, and *prevent*, had the notion of 'coming to meet' a person, and so 'helping' him, from Lat *prævenire*, to come before Cf the Genevan Bible (1562), "Thou didest prevent him with liberal blessings," *Ps* xxi 3

quell, XII 311, to crush the word has rather weakened in sense Middle E *quellen*=A. S *cwellan*, meant 'to kill' Cf *quell*=murder, *Macbeth*, I 7 72, and *manqueller*=murderer in 2 *Hen IV* II 1 58, also in More's *Rich III*, "mannequellers, whome Godde badde to kyll yf theyr murther were wylfull," p 32 (Pitt Press ed) Wychif uses *manqueller* for 'executioner,' *Mark* vi 27, and Matzner gives Middle E *quellere* in the same sense

quire, XII 366, the current form till the close of the 17th century Cf Cotgrave, "*Chœur* the quire of a Church, a troop of singers," and the *Prayer Book*, "In quires and places where they sing" From Lat. *chorus*, to which the modern form, *choir*, is closer

quit, XI 548 Originally *quit*—short for *quiet*—was an adj, from O F *quite*, Lat. *quietus*='at rest,' whence in Late Lat. the sense 'discharged, clear' especially 'clear of a debt' Cf modern F *quittance*, a receipt Middle E *quyten* or *quiten*, to repay, settle=Late Lat *quietare*, and the legal term *quietus*, or *quietus est*, 'the settlement of an account.' See Shak, *Sonnet*, 126, "Her audit, though delay'd, answer'd must be, And her *quidus* is to render thee," also *Hamlet*, III

I 75

rapt, XI 706, so the First Ed, but the word were more correctly

written *rapted*, being the p p of *rapt*=to seize, cf *Cymbeline*, I 6 50, "What thus raps you?" and the old phrase *rapt and renne*, 'to seize and plunder'. The spelling *raft* is due to confusion with Lat *raptus*.

sluice, XI 849, floodgate, from O F *excluse* (mod F. *écluse*), Low Lat *exclusa*, i.e. *exclusa aqua*, shut-off water. Afterwards, *exclusa* came to mean the place where the water was shut off, viz. the mill dam or floodgate.

soveran, XI 83, spelt thus always in P L. Probably M was influenced (as in the case of *harald*) by the Ital form—*sovrano* *sovereign* comes through O F *soverain*, from Lat *superanus*.

spangled, XI 130. A S *spang*=a metal clasp, and *spangle* is the diminutive, meaning 'a small shining ornament'. Cotgrave has, "Papilloter to bespangle or set with spangles". A favourite word with writers of that time; often applied to the stars. Cf *Com* 1003, "spangled sheen" (from *Midsummer N D* II 1 29), XII 384, "stars spangling the hemisphere," and *Lyc* 170.

station, XII 627, post of watching, in II 412 he uses *stations*=out posts, i.e. sentinels, pickets, Lat *stationes*—"strict senteries and stations thick Of angels watching round". Blount's *Glossographia* (1670) has, "Stationary, appointed to keep ward in any place, that is in a Garrison."

sultan, XI 395, from Arabic *sultān*, victorious, also a ruler, prince. In its Latinised form this Arabic word became *soldanus* whence O F *soldan*, Ital *soldano*. M uses *soldan* in I 764. Cf Minshew (1617), "the Great Soldane, or Sultan among the Turks or Persians."

trains, XI 624, cf. S. A 533, "venererl trains"=snares of love, and *Com* 151. Shak. has the noun once, *Macbeth*, IV 3 118, the verb several times, e.g. in I *Hen IV* v 2 21, "we did train him on". From Fr *trafner*=*traho*, which in Late Lat =betray the metaphor (says Du Cange) of alluring birds into snares. Cf the *Animadversions*, "he trains on the easy Christian insensibly within the close ambushment," P W III 43.

triumph, XI 723, "a public festivity or exhibition of any kind," Schmidt, *Lexicon*, cf *Midsummer N D* I 1 19, "with pomp, with triumph and with revelling". The title page of Heywood's *London Speculum* runs "London's Mirror, Exprest in sundry Triumphs, Pageants and Showes". So often in Bacon, e.g. in *Hist of Hen VII*, p 98 ("he kept great triumphs of jousting and tourney"), p 187, and p 219, Pitt Press ed. See *L'Al* 120. Lat *triumphus*=Gk *θρᾱμβος*, a hymn to Bacchus.

troll, \I 620, from O F *troller*, mod. F *tâbler*, to drag about—a Teutonic word, cf Germ *trollen*, Dutch *drollen*, to roll, troll Cognate with *trawl*

vouchsafe, \I 170, \II 120, from Middle E *vouchen safe*, to warrant as safe, *vouchen*=Law Fr *voucher*, to call, Lat *vocare*

wrack, \I 821, destruction, the usual form of the word till late in the 17th century, cf *shipwracked* in *S A* 198 *wrack*, never *wreck*, is the spelling of noun and verb in the first Folio of *Shak*, cf places where the rhyme has prevented modernising, e.g. *Lucrece*, 841, 965, *Venus and A* 558, and *Macbeth*, v 5 51, "Blow, wind! come, wrack! At least we'll die with harness on our back" We still use "to rack and ruin," where we mean *wrack* From A S *wreccan*, to drive, the *wreck*, or *wrack*, being that which is driven ashore, *wreak* is cognate

INDEX OF WORDS

This list applies to the Notes only, words of which longer explanations are given will be found in the Glossary. The references are to the pages

advance 96
affect 81
amarantine 55
ambrosial 61
answerable 95
appaid 91
argue 88
asphalt 80
atrophy 69

bait 78
bate 78
battle 86
bituminous 80
bottom 74
brand 96
broils 74

can 62
capital 90
cataract 76
chime 70
clang (of birds) 76
clime 74

damp 61
decline 81
deform 69
denounce 56
deny 85

devote 75
discover 61
dispossess 79
ditty 71
dusk (adj) 74

eclipse 58
embattled 86
emboss 85
erect 69
eternize 54
euphrasy 67
evinced 88
excess 56

fact 68
fair (n) 74
fugue 70

gripe 61

heave 76
hierarchies 59
his 76
hull (vb) 76

indirect 72
its 76

Ksar 65

labour (trans vb) 78

lazar house 68

levy war 59

luxury 74

marasmus 69

moon struck 69

obtuse 70

orc 76

orient 59

orisons 57

palpable 85

parch 96

pavilioned 59

period 93

pine (trans vb) 69, 81

plight 53

port 53

prescript 87

prodigious 73

recure 90

remorse 56

river dragon 85

rue 67

rugged 78

sacred 75

sunt 86

scale 73

secure 59

select 75

servitude 83

signatures, doctrine of, 67

sord 68

speculation 95

squadroned 90

stabled 74

stoop 58

subjected 96

subscribe 58

sum 95

surcharge 90

symphony 71

synod 54

tith 68

tour 58

transverse 70

troll 72

twinned 81

vapour 96

virtual 62

vision 82

visitation 61

wafing 92

wander (trans vb) 75

woman 72

zodiac 60

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